1974

Melanesians as Methodists: Economy and Marriage on a Papua and New Guinea Island

Stuart James Berde
University of Pennsylvania, sberde44@gmail.com

Melanesians as Methodists: Economy and Marriage on a Papua and New Guinea Island

Comments
Author's correspondence information (as of 6/27/16):

sberde44 at gmail.com

1308 Ravenhurst Drive

Raleigh, NC 27615

MELANESIANS AS METHODISTS:

ECONOMY AND MARRIAGE ON A PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA ISLAND

Stuart James Berde

A DISSERTATION

in

Anthropology

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1974

Supervisor of Dissertation
Ward H. Goodenough

Graduate Group Chairman
Francis E. Johnston

Acknowledgements

My initial interest in southeast New Guinea began through a seminar led by Dr. William Davenport at the University of Pennsylvania in the Spring of 1968. Dr. Davenport and Dr. Ward Goodenough, my dissertation adviser, have offered valuable suggestions throughout the planning of the research.

While in New Guinea, I received financial support from the National Science Foundation and the University of Pennsylvania Museum. My host institutions were the New Guinea Research Unit, School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, and the Department of Anthropology, The University of Papua New Guinea. I would like to thank Marian Ward and James Toner from the Research Unit, and I would like to thank Ann Chowning, and Ralph and Sue Bulmer from the University.

The station community at Bwagaoia, Misima provided open hospitality to me throughout my field stay in the Misima Sub-district. The following people deserve special thanks: Mr. and Mrs. A. V. Bell, Mr. E. Ryan, Mr. and Mrs. A. Munt, Mr. and Mrs. G. Matthews, Mr. and Mrs. W. Paraskas, Messrs. Kenneth and John Kiowa, Mr. and Mrs. G. Fitskiming, and the Loaga Mission personnel. I would especially like to thank Mr. and Mrs. I. Hauofa, who spent twenty-seven years in the Misima area. I have benefited from Mr. Hauofa's understanding of the Misiman language. Finally, I would like to thank the Australian Administration at Misima and the Louisiade Local Government Council. The Assistant District Commissioner, Mr. W. Speldiwinde, provided all possible assistance to me during my stay in his area. Mr. and Mrs. Speldiwinde were excellent hosts.

In my eighteen months as guest of the Panaeati people, I was given all of the attention that one could hope for. Panaeati people were gracious and helpful from the first until the last day of my stay. No anthropologist could have asked for a better place to live and work. As the remarks in the text will show, Panaeati people have a lively and a rewarding life today. Some of their liveliness rubbed off on me. And I am grateful. A few names from the many friends and helpers on Panaeati deserve mention: Senibalo, Togilo, Petueli, Dolo, Dini and Kipli, David, Misa, Banian, Duncan, Nok, Ebinesar, and Levi.

Index

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Chapter IV Memorial Occasions

Chapter V Canoe Economics

Bibliography

Abel, C.: Charles Abel, The Kwato Mission, History of Melanesia, Second Waigani Seminar, Canberra: Australian National University, 1969.

Belshaw, C. S.: In Search of Wealth, Mem. 80, American Anthropologist, 57, 1955.

Bromilow, W. E.: Twenty Years Among Primitive Papuans, London: Epworth, 1929.

Brookfield, H. C., and Hart, D.: Melanesia A Geographical Interpretation of an Island World, London: Methuen and Company, 1971.

Coris, P.: Blackbirding in the New Guinea Waters 1883-1884: an episode in the Queensland labor trade, The Journal of Pacific History, 3:85-105, 1968.

Grosart, I.: Localisation and the Methodist mission in New Guinea, in The History of Melanesia, Second Waigani Seminar, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1969.

Haddon, A. C., and Hornell, J.: Canoes of Oceania. The Canoes of Melanesia Queensland, and New Guinea II, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 28, 1937.

Hannett, L.: Church and nationalism, in Politics in Melanesia, Fourth Waigani Seminar, Canberra: Research School in Pacific Studies, Australian National University Press, 654-666, 1970.

Harding, T. G.: Voyagers of the Vitiaz Straight: A Study of a New

Guinea Trade System, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967.

Lauer, P. K.: Amphlett islanders' pottery trade and the kula, Mankind, 7, June, 1970.

Lawrence, P.: Road Belong Cargo: A Study of Cargo Movements in the Southern Madang District, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964.

Malinowski, B.: Argonauts of the Western Pacific, New York: E. P. Dutton and Company Incorporated, 1922.

Malinowski, B.: Coral Gardens and Their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands, London: Allen and Unwin, I, 1935.

Monckton, C. A. W.: Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, London: John Lane, 1921.

Murry, J. H. P.: Papua: or British New Guinea, London: Fisher Unwin, 1912.

Salisbury, R.: Despotism and Australian administration in the New Guinea Highlands, American Anthropologist, 66, 4 Part 2: 225-240, 1964.

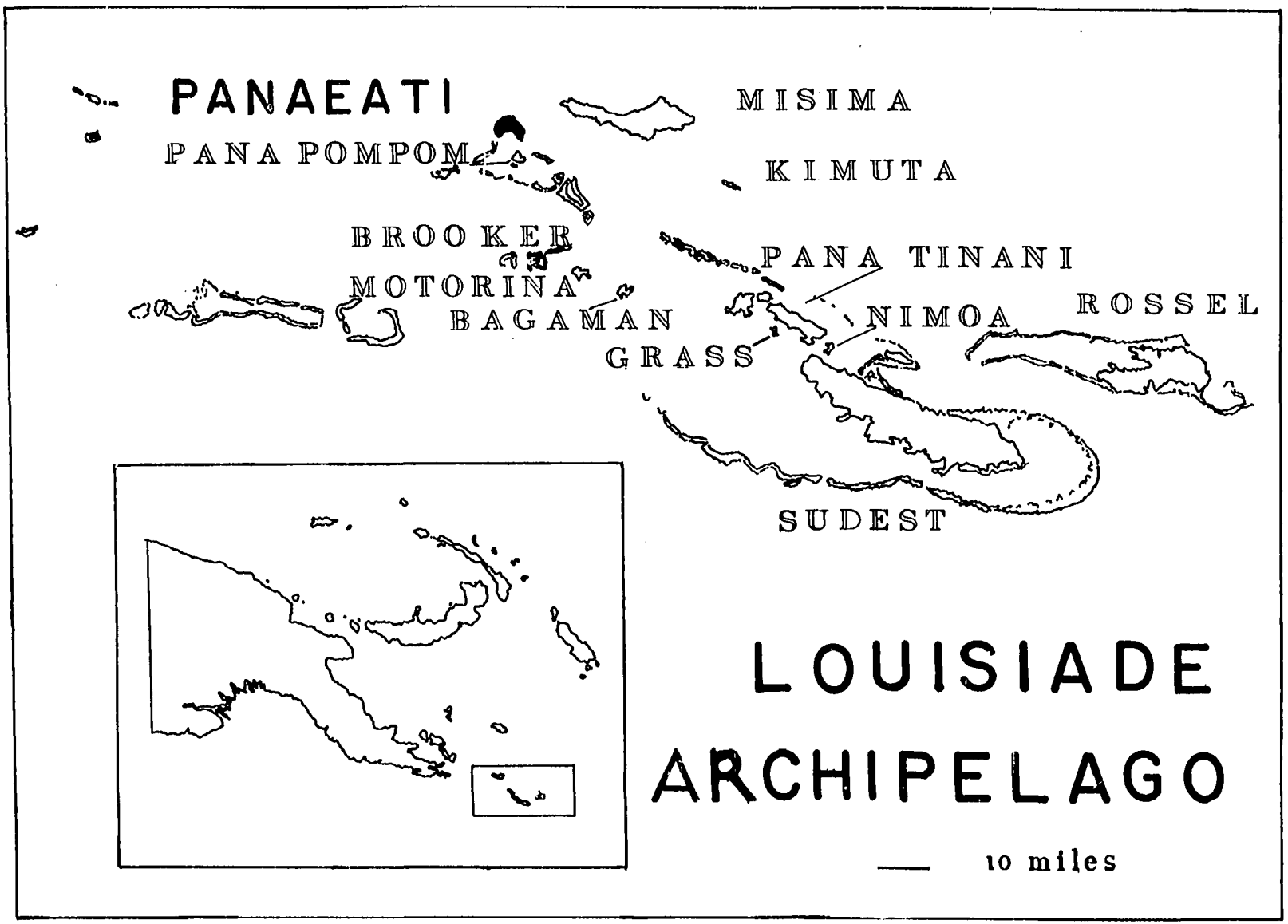
Seligman, C. G.: The Melanesians of British New Guinea, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910.

Souther, G.: New Guinea: The Last Unknown, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1963.

Williams, R. G.: From mission to church: a study of the United Church, in The Politics of Melanesia, Fourth Waigani Seminar, Canberra: Research School in Pacific Studies, Australian National University Press, 666-681, 1970.

Worsley, P. M.: The Trumpet Shall Sound A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia, New York: Schocken Books, 1970.

Young, M. G.: Fighting With Food: Politics and Ritual in a Southern Massim Society, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.



Introduction

A Bridewealth Canoe

Panaeati (or Duboyne Island) is an "almost" atoll in the Louisiade Archipelago, southeast of the mainland of Papua New Guinea. Sunset signals the people's return from the day's activities to their homes on the eastern, lagoon side of the island. Women bring food from the gardens for the evening meal. Men finish their tasks and bathe in bush streams or in the sea. The calm routine of ordinary days, however, is interrupted on special occasions. A dramatic such occasion on Panaeati is the presentation of a completed sailing canoe -- as a bridewealth token -- to the builder's in-laws. The following description is based on an actual presentation I witnessed in November, 1970. It offers an instructive introduction to Panaeati people's marriage duties.

Petueli is about 65 years old. He is the oldest member and the main decision maker for a large matrilineage. He was responsible for the purchase of a canoe that was presented as a bridewealth token for his adopted daughter.

There are two important people involved in such a canoe presentation. First, there is the canoe's builder, in this case Petueli's new son-in-law. This young man put much effort into financing and manufacturing the canoe. Secondly, there is the canoe's buyer. Petueli was the person faced with the financial responsibility, the person under heavy pressure to "acknowledge" (lahi) the presentation with a substantial material contribution.

A canoe presentation, however, involves the efforts of many people besides the builder and the buyer. The young builder, in fact, was rather in the background on this day. His lineage elders and his father's lineage mates took command of the presentation ceremony. And these relatives' supporting responsibilities went further than the day's activities, for they had helped the young husband finance the canoe's manufacture.

Canoe building on Panaeati is a group labor activity. People volunteer services in exchange for food while they work. No builder calls people to help him without making the appropriate hosting preparations. Different labor tasks require different foods, and there should not be substitutions. Thus, the builder needs garden produce from several women's gardens. He needs to obtain cash to buy the trade store goods (sugar, tea, rice, and tobacco) that have been incorporated into a contemporary canoe builder's hosting requirements. He also needs from one to three pigs to offer for special, major labor sessions.

A young married man is at a considerable disadvantage. Borrowing or "requesting" (awanun), the most common method of obtaining material goods on Panaeati, is a cultivated skill. Young men do not have the necessary polish. More importantly, they do not have established reputations for honesty. People on Panaeati prefer to lend to those who have proven their honesty by clearing their "debts" (vaga) in the past. Therefore, while a bridewealth canoe represents a young husband's enterprise and his respect for his new in-laws, he must have the advice, cooperation, and material support of many people to build the canoe.

But on the presentation day, the new husband's burden was over. Petueli, the father-in-law, was now feeling the pressure. He was expected to pay well for the canoe even though it was a bridewealth presentation. Some people take advantage of the rules and do not pay well for a bridewealth canoe. They can then resell the canoe for a profit. There is strong pressure, however, for people to present an exemplary amount of goods for bridewealth canoes. Buying a canoe is a public spectacle, and the buyer is, for a time, in the spotlight. A man like Petueli is expected to make a good showing. Petueli could not do it alone, however. And he had begun to prepare for the canoe presentation about three months before the presentation day.

Two days before the presentation, Petueli announced publicly that he was going to obtain a canoe. He sat in the doorway of his house in the early evening. He banged his piol ("lime pot") with his ken ("spatula") in order to attract people's attention. Such "public announcing" is called vevegali. It is a method for transmitting important information for public consumption. It is an extremely serious business when one of these calls rings out, and there are even magical spells that speakers use to make their words as effective as possible.

Petueli announced that he wanted help from certain people. He mentioned the names of younger, more active clanmates, some of his debtors, and his in-laws. These people would be expected to appear with contributions toward the canoe's purchase. The announcement was also a signal to anyone else who wanted to help Petueli. People were expected to respond to Petueli's signal by borrowing goods if they did not already have them in hand. Petueli's "in-laws" (tovelamau), "clanmates"

(tutunau), and "friends" (heliamau) tapped their personal social resources. They arranged their "request" (awanun) transactions independently of their presentation to Petueli. If their presentation to Petueli was going to be Petueli's "debt" (vaga), "clearing" this debt (pamola) should not affect their arrangement with the party who lent them the item. Panaeati people become indebted to one person so they can present an item to another. This is "helping" (labe) according to Panaeati logic. It is supported by Panaeati tradition and also by contemporary Methodist mission ideals.

Petueli, his clan nephews (i.e., sisters' sons), and his close friends sat up all night waiting for people to appear with their contributions. They had set some of their own contributions down on a mat in Petueli's house. As people contributed, the display of items slowly grew. Some people told Petueli exactly when they needed a return for their loan. Others simply left the item. Debts are supposed to be cleared when the creditor has a giving obligation, so all Petueli's debtors were expected to appear. (Canoe presentations are good times for creditors to collect from tardy debtors, although doing so is not the best etiquette.) Assembling goods in this manner is a precarious activity, however, for people are never sure when contributors will show up. This uncertainty adds a charged, dramatic atmosphere to canoe purchases.

The "wealth items" for which Petueli waited are called gogomau. This term refers to several different kinds of goods. Spondylus shell necklaces called bagi, which are made in the islands east of Panaeati (i.e., Eastern Calvados Chain and Rossel Island), are highly valued.

The greenstone axeblades made on Woodlark Island are also very important. These are referred to as either abaraga or giam. A mushroom shaped wooden article decorated with bagi shell discs is another wealth item. And Australian currency has become an additional member of the gogomau group of valuables. Each item above is counted as a single unit, and each unit corresponds to a contributor. Although the receiver will later consider the different values of individual units, for a time the idea is to accumulate as many separate pieces as possible, for the more contributors, the greater the canoe buyer's public esteem when the formal presentation is made.

At the end of the first night, Petueli was disappointed. In the morning, I counted the following contributions. The contributions and the contributors' relationships to Petueli are listed below.

Early Contributors

Relation to Petueli	Units	Contribution
1. DaHu	6	1 bagi, 5 giam
2. clanmate	1	1 giam
3. clanmate	1	1 giam
4. MoSiDaSoWi	1	1 giam
5. WiSiHu	1	1 giam
6. MoBrSoSo	1	1 giam
7. WiBr	1	1 giam
	12	

The presentation was postponed for another day with the consent of the canoe builder. On the following morning, Petueli made another vevegali announcement. Petueli was forceful. He said he was an old man and did not want any future debts. "Who will pay (my debts) after my death?" he shouted. He wanted to pay for the canoe in a manner that

would leave his daughter an honorable position with her new in-laws. (In-law obligations will be explained in a later section.)

This was the day for the formal presentation. During the early afternoon, the young husband and his relatives decorated the endboards and made last-minute adjustments on the new canoe. Decorating the endboards is an easy and light activity, called abab, but it is considered the real "formation" of a canoe. The term abab also refers to a woman giving birth to a child, and to a woman forming a clay cooking pot. In a sense, decorating a canoe marks its birth into the sea.

The people decorating the canoe were given a pot of cooked yams and a pot of "sago and coconut oil" (moni). Petueli and his wife supplied these items. After the abab, the canoe was pushed into the sea. The young husband's relatives sailed the canoe back and forth testing it. Then the canoe was sailed from the young man's house to the beach fronting Petueli's house and poled around so it faced the dwelling.

Petueli's contributors had been arriving during the day. They sat around his house and were fed. Now all of their contributions were taken out of the house and counted. Then each person took back his contribution, held it, and waited. On a signal from Petueli each contributor marched proudly out to the canoe and set his single item on a mat placed on the canoe's platform. Men, women and little children marched out to the canoe one by one. After they presented their contributions, they turned around and walked sternly back to shore.

While this procession was going on, the young husband's mother's brother, Petalai, sat on a nearby rock and screamed out a "challenge announcement" vevegali to Petueli. His statement was designed to anger

Petualli into giving an abundant presentation for the canoe. Most of these vevegali are similar. I recorded the following statement in my house. Petalai's statement was very much the same as this one.

Vevegali: Canoe Challenge

I

work very large really canoe
1. Tualali bobwatana hot waga

wo neg your valuables
2. Age sige wam gogomau

neg your pigs
3. Nige wam bobu

II

neg your axe heads
4. Nige wam abaraga

neg family have
5. Nige tutumau gegan

then my canoe you buy
6. Inoke no waga nu pamora

III

you person bad really you
7. Owa gamagal inakina hot owa

IV

suppose I came place another
8. Binemara na nowa iyanem panua getoga

then my canoe he buy well
9. Inoke no waga ni pamora bubun

V

you lie to me
10. U na kakauwiau

I came my canoe neg you buy well
11. Iya nem no waga nige nu pamora bubun

VI

it is true person bad really you
12. Tuna hot gamagal inakina hot owa

neg person good same you
13. Nige gamagal waiwaisana iora owa

VII

if you buy well you person good
14. Ebo nu pamora bubun owa gamagal waiwaisana

if you pay poorly you person bad
15. Ebo nu pamora panak owa gamagal inakina

VIII

food much very pigs I ruined
16. Anan igewi nabi bobu iya panak

I came thing bad really you set before me
17. Iya nem bugul inakina hot u teli matauwa

IX

neg your in-laws
18. Nige wam tovalam

neg family (your)
19. Nige tutumau

neg your friends
20. Nige wam heliamau

X

suppose they will help you
21. Binemara nihi labewa

then my canoe you pay well
22. Inoke no waga nu pamora bubun

then I happy I feel good today
23. Inoke na ilaiaia nuau iwasi lanebe

then I go away
24. Inoke naegon

Vevegali: Canoe Challenge

I

1. Canoes. They are a lot of work.

II

2. So, you don't have valuables
3. You don't have pigs
4. You don't have axe blades
5. You don't have relatives
6. Then you would buy my canoe

III

7. You are a bad person. You really are.

IV

8. Now, if I arrived at another place, --
9. Then he would buy my canoe.

V

10. You fooled me.
11. I came here. And you are not paying well for my canoe.

VI

12. Truly, you really are a bad person.
13. How unlike a good person you are.

VII

14. If you will pay generously, you are a good person.
15. If you will pay poorly, you are a bad person.

VIII

16. I wasted a lot of food and pigs.
17. I came here and you set out a really worthless thing before me.

IX

18. You don't have in-laws.
19. You don't have family.
20. You don't have friends.

X

21. Suppose they help you.
22. I will be happy and feel good today.
23. And I will go away.

Panaeati people contend that a good vevegali speaker can dislodge materials from a presentor that the presentor did not wish to give away. The speaker first says a "magic" spell (kukula) that gives his words power. Then he hurls insulting statements at the presentor. The presentor is driven to an emotional state of "heated" rage (wai). Someone in a heated state does things in an extraordinary manner. In this case he gives things away in an uncontrolled frenzy.

Examining the insults in a vevegali challenge provides a very instructive introduction to Panaeati social values. In the following discussion, references are to the text of the challenge on pages eight through ten. The divisions and numbered lines are for convenience of reference.

The speaker begins a vevegali challenge by stating that he has completed his part of the arrangement. He has put much work into the canoe's manufacture. But it appears that the canoe buyer cannot pay well for the canoe. Section II, lines 2, 3, and 4 lists the deficient valuables, whose lack suggests the buyer also has no family to provide these items for him.

Because the buyer appears not to have these things, he is judged a "bad person" (Section III). Furthermore, the situation would be different with another canoe buyer (line 9), so the canoe builder has been fooled as well (Section V). While a good buyer is one who does not trick the canoe builder and gives him a fair return for his investment, the central equation is a good buyer = a buyer who pays well.

Section VI reinforced the idea that this buyer is a bad person rather than a good person. And what is a good person? Section VII makes this very clear. A good person pays well. The speaker challenges the buyer. "If" (ebo) he pays well, he will be a good person (line 15). But if he pays poorly, he will be a bad person (line 16). The buyer, of course, should want to avoid the public embarrassment of being a bad person.

The speaker extends his case a bit further in Section VIII where he expands on his opening declaration. Canoes are a lot of work because a builder gives an abundant amount of food and pigs to the laborers (line 16). There should be a fair return for a builder's effort (line 17). Has his effort been "wasted" (panak)? What went wrong?

The speaker offers an explanation and an insult in Section IX. It must be that the buyer has no in-laws, no relatives, and no friends.

This is a repetition of Section II. To state that a person has no one else is a supreme insult on Panaeati. For it really means that people have chosen not to fulfill their responsibilities to their relative. They have not come forth and supported one of their own people. They would only do this to someone who has not supported them in the past. A "bad person" (gamagal inakina) chooses to hoard rather than to help his relatives, in-laws, and friends. Thus he cannot expect help (i.e., material goods or service) when he needs it. It is expected that people will support one of their own. They should, but in fact, they often do not. For a time, however, a buyer (like Petueli) is under pressure to exemplify the highest standards.

Section X is the final challenge. The speaker reveals a simple way to avoid being a bad person. Line 21 is the key. It is offered as a tease. "Suppose they (in-laws, relatives, friends) help you." Then everything will be all right. The buyer obtains the canoe "honorably" (bubun). The builder is pleased (line 23). And he departs (line 24).

A bad person has more than public embarrassment to fear from a meager display on Panaeati. He or any one of his relatives can be put under a sorcerer's spell by a disappointed canoe builder. This is still a possibility in contemporary Panaeati life. Thus people contend that these vevegali challenges are actually "preventive medicine" (sauwal). By inducing the buyer to pay well, the builder saves him from being penalized. So an abundant display is for everyone's benefit. The buyer's people are safe, and the builder's people are content.

Petueli's purchase went well. His contributors appeared and supported him. The vevegali challenge "worked". The young husband's

elders felt that they too had been instrumental in bringing about the abundant presentation. After the statement ended, one of Petueli's father's lineage mates (a younger man than Petueli) clubbed a pig to death and tossed it in front of Petalai. Petueli's sister's son went out to the canoe and counted the articles one by one. The complete total -- regardless of type and value of each article -- was thirty-seven gogomau ("wealth items") and two pigs.

The late contributors who came to help Petueli purchase the canoe are listed below. This list should be added to the list of earlier contributors.

Late Contributors

Relation to Petueli	Units	Contribution
8. MoSiDaSo	1	1 giam
9. MoSiDaSo	1	1 gabulita
10. MoBrSo	1	1 giam
11. MoBrSo	2	2 giam
12. MoSiDaSo	1	1 giam
13. MoSiDaSo	1	1 giam
14. WiSiSo	1	1 giam
15. MoSiDaSo	1	1 giam
16. DaHu	2	2 giam
17. DaHu	2	2 giam
18. DaHuSiSo	1	1 bagi
19. MoSiDaSo	1	1 bagi
20. MoSiDaSo (he and #15 above are married to sisters. They help each other a great deal.)	1	1 giam
	1	$2.00 (i.e., Australian $2 bill)
21. MoSiDaSo	2	$4.00 (Australian $2 bills)
22. MoSiDaSoSo	1	$2.00
23. MoSiDaSoSo	1	$1.00
24. MoSiDaSo	1	$1.00
25. BrSo	1	$1.00
26. SiSoSo	1	$2.00
27. MoSiDaSo	1	$2.00
	25	

Petueli contributed 3 giam. Petueli's leau total was 37 gogomau (wealth items). Two pigs were also given. One was given by Petueli's MoSiDaDaSo; the other was given by his DaHuFaSiSo.

The individual values of the articles are dealt with in the future when the young husband's elders take part in other exchange transactions. A person who knows how to manage transactions involving different items -- gogomau items -- is said to "understand leau" (leau iatena). The appendix to this study explains the types of valuable articles used today in the Panaeati area and the rules for exchanging these items. The historical background for leau transactions is presented in Chapter II.

******

Panaeati islanders have been known as master canoe builders since Europeans noticed and began to write about such things (Haddon, 1937:255). Panaeati men have presented bridewealth canoes to their in-laws since the very beginning of their history. Bridewealth canoes represent a man's energy, industry, and respect for his wife's family. A Panaeati canoe is still the most valuable convertible store of wealth that a Louisiade Archipelago person can have. An in-law, like Petueli in the illustration above, can exchange a canoe for a variety of material goods, and then be in an excellent position to host, and to give generously to others. Panaeati married couples strive to be generous givers.

The importance of giving is part of every Panaeati person's background through experiences as a child, a parent and a grandparent in an indulgent household. There is another reason for the persistence of giving that complements its persistence in domestic relations. This is the association of land inheritance giving at memorial occasions for the dead. Being in a position to give children land is a strong incentive for a

married couple's participation in the community-wide network of exchange and mutual giving.

Such was the case during early times, and such is still the case today. The persistence and vitality of Panaeati's traditional activities can be explained to a large extent by the persistence of the traditional land reward system. The ideal of giving has a material foundation in Panaeati island life. Panaeati people are extraordinarily resilient materialists, even for Melanesians.

Panaeati people contend they achieved a materially richer life style since the Methodist Mission's pacification efforts in the Louisiade Archipelago began on Panaeati in 1891.[1] They feel the mission's influence allowed them to achieve more returns from their physical and human resources than was ever possible before. The returns were measured by Panaeati standards for utility rather than by imposed mission standards. The material returns had immediate and lasting relevance to Panaeati people. Panaeati people's priorities and mission priorities still mesh well without major conflicts.

In order more fully to understand these adjustments, this study of Panaeati marriage is put in historical perspective. Panaeati's history is examined in Chapter II in regard to broad changes in people's activities over time. Certain shifts in Panaeati's relations with neighboring peoples in the Louisiade Archipelago are noted. In this study, moreover, inter-island trading is examined from the "inside out" rather than from an areal vantage point. We examine the manner in which Panaeati islanders

---

[1] Early pacification efforts by the British Government were completed by the Methodist missionaries in the Louisiades. This success was extraordinary and even surprised early British Government figures (MacGregor, 1897:96).

have sailed to other places in the region and their motives for doing so.

Chapter I discusses some fundamental rudiments or themes that facilitate understanding Panaeati life. Chapters III, IV, and V deal with the activities of Panaeati married couples. Chapter III gives an examination of contemporary courtship and the beginning of married life. Chapter IV continues the discussion of marriage through a detailed examination of memorial activities. This chapter clarifies the relationship between memorial activities and land inheritance introduced in Chapter I.

Chapter V discusses canoe manufacture and canoe presentations. The importance of distinguishing the utility of canoe building to a builder from the utility of presenting completed canoes is stressed.

The conclusion sets this study in a broader focus. The importance of looking at inter-island relations in other Melanesian areas in a historical framework is stressed. The changes described in Panaeati people's relations with their Louisiade Archipelago neighbors are compared with recent trading information about Kula area peoples east and north of Panaeati. Finally, some reasons for the extraordinary mission success on Panaeati are suggested, and an appeal for a more realistic assessment of mission influence in Milne Bay is made.

This study of Panaeati marriage and inter-island economics is one example of a renewed interest in a region -- the Massim -- that has fascinated anthropologists for over fifty years.[2]

---

[2]The Massim is a broad geographic and racial classification that was used by Seligman (1910) and later by Malinowski (1922). It referred to peoples living in an area that roughly corresponds with the Milne Bay District and the mainland up to the 149th parallel. The term is rarely used in this study. Contemporary references to the Louisiade Archipelago or to the Misima Sub-district are used.

Chapter I

The Rudiments of Panaeati Life

Panaeati life is married life. There is no path to a full and successful life outside marriage on Panaeati. The nuclear family and the independent household in which a family lives are critical social and economic units. The sentiments and the duties in the nuclear family revolve around giving, care, and providing. These basic themes of Panaeati life provide the framework for understanding the rationale for broader social and economic activities. On Panaeati, domestic giving is at the root of people's materialism.

This section examines giving inside a household and giving in its wider, more political contexts. Some rudimentary social and economic principles are also introduced. These statements are numbered and are appropriately placed in the discussion. Although this is not a complete outline of Panaeati social organization, these statements provide a capsule guide which will help one to understand the remaining chapters.

The household is the focus for any discussion of marriage on Panaeati. People strive for an economically responsible household. This is dependent on the capabilities of the resident adult married couple. A husband and a wife should extend services and material goods to others. Giving is the overriding principle that binds all social activities on Panaeati. It dominates the "domestic" relations between parents and

children. And it dominates "political" contexts when hosting outsiders. These considerations lead us to the first principles or rudiments of Panaeati life.

1. Children born out of the same woman's "womb" (tini) share a close bond. They are members of one tini.
2. Children of one tini recognize their male procreator. He is called taman hot ("true father"). He is recognized as mother's spouse.
3. The nuclear family -- a woman and her children plus her "spouse" (lagona) who lives with them and provides for them -- is extremely important on Panaeati. The feelings and the duties among these people for each other last beyond their lives. They are continued by their children.

Food is both the symbolic and the actual foundation of all Panaeati giving. The worst thing that can happen to a Panaeati person is to be left "hungry" (gailebu). While all people should be shielded against hunger, children and old people would suffer most from want. Gardening is organized to provide critical security against their going hungry; the first yam seedlings are set aside for children and old people. These special gardens are called pil kukumola ("food planted for cooking"). This food is used during the "lean" hoalu months (February through April).

4. Tini members share joint rights in garden and residence land.
5. Adult men decide all land matters. Women do most of the garden work and food planning.

Food, especially yams, is associated with the richest form of love on Panaeati -- the love between parents and children. Infant children are fed whenever they cry. Denying a child food is the worst sin a parent can commit. The sounds of crying hurt Panaeati people. And a crying child is embarrassing because it indicates that the parents take poor care of the child. Thus, precautions are always taken to insure that a child will not be hungry during the day. Children are spoiled and tease their parents by whining for food. They are not taken on long canoe trips for this reason. A hungry child is a real problem in a canoe. Sugarcane is a good pacifier, but only for a time.

There is also a second major domestic obligation: to "look after" (matahikan) aged parents. Adult children are especially bound to a parent who has lost his or her spouse. Old people gradually move out of the mainstream of active social life. While they never lose their love for the sea, they no longer undertake long sea voyages. The fears and the discomforts outweigh the fun and the adventures. However, old people remain important decision makers as long as they can move about the island. In time they come to need almost the same attention as young children. Food, and the care and attention it symbolizes, become their central concerns. When they feel they are not being properly fed and cared for, they pout and sulk. They close themselves off from their children and sleep. If they are living with their children, they often complain that their in-laws are not treating them properly. This makes their children feel terribly ashamed.

Proper care requires that old people not be left alone. They should not be asked to move when a house is cleaned. Women wait for old people

to relieve themselves outside. When they are outside, the women sweep the house.

Feeding and indulgence, then, form the foundation of Panaeati domestic sentiments. Nurturing care provides the metaphor people use to explain their social organization.

6. An adult man should secure food for his wife's children and also for his tini sisters' children. While food from the lineage garden to the wife's children is expected and natural, children are extremely grateful for their father's care and feeding.
7. A man's sister's son is thought of as his "replacement" (lahena) in the next generation. Sisters' sons are called "my man" (no gaman) and sisters' daughters are called "my woman" (no gamalok) by their mothers' brothers.
8. Sibling sets in the same generation that receive food from the same man as father or as mother's brother share a special relationship. These cross-cousins call each other by one term nubaiu.
9. Cross-cousins have a life-time exchange relationship in which they present items to each other. Presentations to father's sister's children are called hagali. Presentations to mother's brother's children are called holhol.

Giving also sets the tone for people's relations outside the domestic context. Strategic giving on a wider dimension is associated with

maneuvering for political position in the community. Its roots, however, stem from domestic feeding and caring for the young and aged. Outside the domestic context, giving is best described as "hosting." This is the most fitting term to describe Panaeati people's intense concern for providing materials and service to others. Hosting will be a word used freely in this discussion.

There are several different types of hosting situations. There is hosting outsiders in one's home. And there is the provision of food for laborers who offer their services. Both these situations are called "help" (labe). Hosting people for large assemblies is called "distributing" or "giving out" (guiau). Guiau is a term or label for the traditional Panaeati big men. This hosting by big men will be described later. For now, it is important to reinforce the point that all of the above hosting situations require a host to feed and to look after people in an uncompromising manner.

Receiving people in the home is not an easy matter. Visitors are given complete attention by a host and his wife for as long as they stay. A visitor is immediately given a fresh mat to sit on, and betel and tobacco are always offered. These two items are the main hospitality goods that a host must have. Visitors should also be fed, and women play the crucial role here. While it may look as if they are in the background of hosting situations, women do most of the work. They are completely in charge of managing the food supply.

Sometimes visitors stay for a month; but this practice is changing, and visits are now becoming shorter. As long as a visitor stays, however, he is given all possible attention. This can be a trying task for

a host's wife. It takes a great deal of forethought to plan for extra people in a home. It strains all women, but this is where they gain prestige.

Visitors note how well they were treated. Was the food abundant or did the woman seem to strain all the time? Did she give them all possible attention? A couple's reputation can suffer if visitors find that they are a burden on their host and his wife. A strong and willing woman is called iova anan ("a woman of food"). A generous male host is called guiau, as noted above. The Panaeati ideal couple is a match of an industrious man with a strong woman. This "ideal couple" is called hamana wagana.

After a visitor eats, he begins to indicate the reason for his visit. Sometimes a host asks his visitor simply to state what it is he is after. A familiar phrase used for this purpose is "Speak your mind and I'll listen" (Wam nuwatu nubaba ge nahago). It is assumed that an outsider wants to make a request if he comes to an unfamiliar household. It is understood that no one can complete his economic obligations alone. A person needs help from others and "requesting" (awanun) is the most common device for obtaining help.

Panaeati people request everything from betel ingredients to a valuable pig. All these requests require that a person speak clearly and convincingly. Requesting betel is a simple matter. Parents teach children in requesting etiquette by sending them to ask people for betel and tobacco. But the most vivid illustration of requesting occurs when men are looking for pigs and valuables. In these contexts, requests must be well-planned and skillfully carried out.

Most requesting situations are initiated by plans for a hosting occasion. For an example, we can use a memorial activity. Certain people are obligated to help a host find the necessary goods to support the memorial pork and food distributions. On Panaeati, in-laws have responsibilities to help each other. A host's in-laws know that they should obtain items and present these items to their in-law when the occasion's date draws near. The host is also looking for goods. The usual way to obtain an item on Panaeati is to request it from someone else. Step 1 in a typical borrowing situation is for a person (i.e., the in-law above) to request an item from another person. The simple diagram below illustrates. For example, suppose the in-law requestor wants a pig. Call the requestor A and the listener B.

Step 1	Requestor A	Pig	Listener B

If person A is the kind of person who can be trusted, he should find no difficulty in convincing B to give him a pig. Loans are good investments. People who help others have better chances to receive help when they need it. The usual arrangement for returning a loan is for a borrower (i.e., requestor) to inquire when his creditor (i.e., listener) needs the return. If no specific event is mentioned, a requestor should return an equally matched pig at the first occasion his creditor needs help.

Step 2 in the illustration above involves A presenting the pig to his in-law for the feast. This is shown below. Person A is not a borrower in this context. He has a chance to give, and complete his in-law

obligations. He presents the pig to his in-law, C. And person A now is a creditor of person C.

Step 2	In-law A	Pig	Feast maker C

Person C is indebted to A. The return to A should not involve the original transaction between A and B. In the same manner, the return to B should not involve the arrangements between A and C. When B needs a pig, he should be able to count on help from A. When A needs a pig, he should be able to count on help from C.

Panaeati people place high value on a person's ability to obtain goods (i.e., valuables, pigs, cash, food) for a specific occasion. Sometimes a person obtains an item for another person who has a giving obligation. Extending oneself for others by requesting from one's personal resource of people is very important. People who do this most often are respected. It is impossible to borrow without having given in the past. By successfully helping their visitor, a host and his wife are building an economically sound household. They are making an investment for the future on two levels.

First, as noted earlier, helping is a way to increase their chances for help when they are in need. There are a series of hosting occasions that all married people face. Some of these can be avoided, but this is very difficult to do because most hosting occasions are memorial activities. Deaths in each spouse's family are honored by these memorial activities. Each death requires three memorial occasions that are primarily men's hosting responsibilities. Women have separate memorial

obligations that they carry out in the context of marriage. This will be fully explained below. Each adult helps support the memorial activities for deaths in his or her matrilineage. And each adult is also responsible for supporting activities honoring the deaths of his father's matrilineage.

A married couple's second investment is of a deeper and more lasting kind. Each married couple works for their children's security. As noted earlier, the most fundamental source of security on Panaeati is land. Parents work for their children's garden land rights and for their residential rights. The successful hosting of memorial activities is instrumental in gaining rights to land previously held by another lineage. A husband and his wife work independently and together toward this end.

As adults work for their children's security, at the same time they also honor their parents' past work on their behalf. They honor their parents' efforts in feeding and caring for them when they were children. People especially remember their fathers' efforts (cf. Sider, 1967). Because fathers gave food from their lineage gardens (rudiment 6), adults feel a responsibility to honor their fathers' lives.

"In-law presentations" are called mulimuli. Both men and women should give things to their spouses's family willingly. Note the people in the introductory chapter who contributed to Petueli's canoe purchase. Most of them were related to Petueli through marriage. On the one hand, there should be an equal balancing of goods as each spouse's family fulfills its helping responsibilities throughout the couple's married life. On the other hand, there is an incentive for each spouse to outgive his or her in-laws.

A man who outgives his in-laws can bury his deceased wife in his land. This is a political achievement for a strong husband. A woman who outgives her in-laws also receives a reward. Women can obtain garden land rights from their husbands' families.

Women are the instruments for obtaining rights to garden land for their children. They do this by offering "yam presentations" (hagali) honoring deaths in their husbands' families. These families become indebted to the in-law women over the years and must acknowledge the yam presentations that they received. They do this by granting an industrious woman's children rights to garden land. On Panaeati, garden land rights pass from a father's lineage to his children's lineage because of the children's mother's labor in producing the yams for presentation.

Panaeati adults explain their land claims by stating that their mothers "dug the yams" (la kenken) for the yam presentations and, thus, legitimized their claim to a garden plot. Permanent rights to a father's garden land are called nabwahik ("to hold on"). According to this principle, the land remains with the children to be passed on to their heirs. Temporary use rights are also granted. The land in this case is granted only for the duration of the children's lives. Temporary rights are called enovin ("to be on one's mind"). This reflects the father's lineage's lasting interest in the land. This is more fully explained in Chapter IV.

10. Obtaining the rights to husband's garden land plots is the supreme achievement for which women work.

Each man in his adult years should host three memorial activities honoring both his parents' deaths. When a man finances the third memorial activity for his father, he achieves ownership of his father's residential land. To achieve this is the supreme goal for which men work. Men host memorials to acknowledge their fathers' feeding and care when they were children. They also do so in order that their children may live on a desirable residential site. A mature son strives to build a new house on his deceased father's residential site.

When a man dies, even though his wife and children must leave his house to live somewhere else, the integrity of the family which he headed is remembered for two more generations. In-law feelings and duties last beyond the lives of a married couple. They are continued by the spouses' lineages into the next generation. Cross-cousin exchanges echo an ascendant generation's in-law exchanges.

A deceased man's house is abandoned and eventually destroyed. As I have said, a man may return to his father's residential site after he has made the third memorial activity in his father's honor. This activity is a major undertaking. It is referred to as soi or lobek (cf. Selgman, 1910). Here the drama of generational replacement is acted out.

A son honors the care his father gave him during childhood by presenting valuables and pigs to the living members of his father's father's matrilineage, who represent his father's father. By doing this, a son acknowledges his patrilineal grandfather's care for his father. His father's lineage is grateful and honored because the presentations and the soi cast a good light on them. They are the living representatives of the woman who married the dead man's father. Chapter IV also dis-

cusses male hosting occasions in more detail. The above remarks are summarized by the following statements:

11. There is a patrilineal bond based on a residential site. Sons strive to set their personal link in a father-son chain by returning to their fathers' residential sites. This residential return is a man's way of honoring his father's care of him and his siblings when they were children.
12. A "matrilineage" (puhun) encompasses three generations. Puhun means "umbilical," and it refers to the connecting bond with a focal woman. The term is rarely used. People usually say ama ("us") and give the name of the oldest active male member of their lineage.
13. Beyond the three-generation matrilineage, there are "clans," called un (lit. "knot"). Clans are named by their association with birds. People do not have sexual relations with clanmates. They keep this rule even when visiting other islands in Milne Bay.
14. Panaeati people can marry a member of their father's clan. They should not marry members of their father's lineage. However, this rule is occasionally broken.
15. In this context, adults refer to all deceased members of their fathers's lineage as "our fathers" (tamamiau). Father's father's lineage members are also called

tamamiau by adults. The reciprocal term is "our children" (natumiau).

16. Important memorial presentations honoring any deceased are made to that deceased person's father's sister's children.

17. The cross-cousin relationship plays a special part in Panaeati intergeneration affairs. Cross-cousins' life-time exchanges keep their relations active and amicable. This open contact facilitates land transactions in which cross-cousins have a mutual interest. The most critical land decisions are negotiated by people who have ties to a marriage two generations above. These people (as noted in #15) refer to each other as "fathers" and "children." This father-child sentiment facilitates smooth land transactions.

18. The integrity of the nuclear family continues beyond the life-time of its members. An adult man replaces his mother's brother by taking over the in-law responsibilities to his mother's brother's wife's lineage. A son has a heavier burden -- with an incentive, however. He and his wife continue his mother's in-law responsibilities to his father's lineage in order, ultimately, to obtain garden land rights for their children in the next generation (cf. Fortune, 1963).

19. It is not surprising that women's yam presentations made to fathers' sisters' children are called by the same label (hagali) as all presentations to fathers' sisters' children (rudiment 9). Women's presentations are usually memorial activities honoring deaths in their husbands' families.

Panaeati's guiau ("big men") of the past were active hosts and decision makers. They were more energetic and more talented than the average. But having more than one wife (a prerequisite) also meant that a guiau had overwhelming in-law responsibilities to his wives' families. People today say they do not have the time to fulfill all the duties that guiau polygamous situations demanded. In the missionization of Panaeati, the status of guiau eventually gave way. Very few people today complain about the lack of "true big men" guiau hot. Panaeati people today actively work for the same rewards that have inspired hosting activities since the beginning of missionization. The loss of the big men has not affected the vitality of Panaeati's people's economic pursuits.

The economic base of Panaeati life has always been a household and its resident adult married couple. Obtaining land security for children has always been each married couple's incentive. Land was the ultimate reward for guiau "big men" and also for less energetic people. Big men, however, were allowed occasional displays of vanity in exchange for their generosity.

The range of talent and energies remains the same today as in the past. Today, there are people who actively help others and there are

people who remain on the fringe of active social life because they are not givers. The guiau men are gone but the incentives and the ideal standards they set remain strong. In fact, it could be argued that more people today are fulfilling their material expectations than in the past.

Canoe building is still actively pursued on Panaeati. In 1970 and 1971 there were over fifty canoes under construction. This amounted to almost one canoe for every three households. Canoes are still the most valuable convertible store of wealth that a man can own. Selling a canoe is the surest way to obtain the necessary goods to finance a memorial occasion on Panaeati.

Feeding children remains the root and the reason for giving them land. Women's hagali yam presentations on behalf of their husbands' lineages on memorial occasions eventually lead to inheritance of garden land by their children. Preparing for these memorial activities is still seen as a critical enterprise for married couples. Soi memorial occasions are a man's supreme expression of political action. Sons and their wives work to acknowledge fathers' care and the care and feeding that fathers received from their fathers. Sons and their wives honor fathers and, in turn, do what they can to provide for their children's land security in the following generation. A man's testimonial to his father and to his children is to return to his father's residence site in an appropriate manner. An adult woman's supreme political action is presenting hagali yams to honor deaths in her husband's family. By doing this women dislodge garden plots from their husbands' lineages' land and provide their children with food security.

The Methodist Mission has reinforced, not deflated, the high value placed on giving, helping, and hosting. People contend that the mission's stress on generosity and "love" (mololu) has reinforced Panaeati people's attitudes toward giving. Mololu has been incorporated as a timely and relevant supporting rationale for Panaeati giving. A married couple who consistently gives material support to others is said to "understand" mololu (mololu hiatena) while a couple who "hoard" (kaise) do not understand mololu. There is no contradiction between Panaeati materialistic giving and the mission's more spiritually inspired mololu giving.

The model for Panaeati giving -- a husband's and wife's indulgent feeding and care for their children -- is as "morally" effective and appropriate as is the mission's Christian-inspired model for mololu good will. The Methodist missionaries agree to this. Missionaries and Panaeati people worked Christian morals and Panaeati morals into a constructive fit years ago (cf. Young, 1971:260). Today the mission is more than simply another aspect of Panaeati social life. Panaeati people feel there is a continuity in their history. They contend that the mission did not upset any of the positive features of their traditional lives. It only reshuffled some of these traditions into a better, more rewarding order.

In the next chapter this historical fit that the mission achieved in Panaeati culture is examined. My thesis is that Panaeati people were able to find a more materially rewarding life-style through their adjustments to missionization.

Chapter II

History, Christianity, and Canoes

Panaeati people divide their history into two major eras. The time before missionization and pacification is called "The Time of Darkness" (Gogo Ana Sauga). The following era is called "The Time of Light" (Mwanal Ana Sauga). The early years after pacification through World War II are characterized by open inter-group relations both inside of Panaeati and among different island peoples. The most effective sovereign influence on Panaeati routine was the Methodist Mission. Today, this period of time is called "The Mission Period" (Topwalolo Ana Sauga). Since the early 1950's, the dominating influence on Panaeati people's life-style has been the Louisiade Local Government Council. The Administration has tightened its control and introduced community work activities into Panaeati people's routine. This recent period is called Kaunsil Ana Sauga ("The Council Period"). Today, Panaeati has a scheduled routine that has restricted some of the long inter-island sailing trips that were common during the mission's years prior to the early 1950's.

Panaeati people have carried out their traditional social activities somewhat differently in each of these time periods. We begin with The Time of Darkness.

II - A

The Period of Darkness

This period is also known as the "Old People's Times" (Tanoakau Hohowel Ana Sauga) and the "Fighting Times" (Havin Ana Sauga). What people remember most from these times is their fear of raids. Elderly informants remember vividly their parents' stories. There was raiding and fighting on Panaeati until probably the last decade of the nineteenth century. In addition to raiding, people note that these early times were also characterized by periods of hunger and by general suspicion of outsiders. Pressure came from the restricted interpersonal relations that precluded large scale cooperation. Minimal cooperation and the dominance of stone tools characterized pre-mission labor organization and made it difficult to obtain the necessities of life.

The most striking feature of Panaeati island is its lowland forest. Rich hardwoods (Calophyllum inophyllum) grow out from the island's raised coral shelf from its eastern extension all the way to the western end of the island. The forest recedes into the interior of the island and surrounds a 725-foot hill that is formed of lava and tertiary volcanic matter. Within the forest and on the sides of the hill, patches of land are cleared for gardens.

Panaeati people recognize four types of soil that are used for gardening. "Clay filled soil" (bili ulum) and "red soil" (bilibili keketina) form one group. These two types of soil are usually poor for growing yams. "Black soil" (bilibili bibikena) and "mixed" clay, black,

and red soil (bili pela) together make a second group. This soil group is better for growing yams. Today, people try to deploy their gardens so that they have a garden in each soil type -- especially in each type in the second group. However, a problem arises in that the amount of rain during the year affects each soil type differently. In some years, it is better to have an insurance garden in one of the first group's soils. The more gardens a household has -- in different soils -- the better its chances for an over-all successful year.

Informants note that during the early times people were limited to the number of gardens they could clear. A husband and wife usually combined their efforts and made only one garden per season. There were several reasons for this. Because of the general atmosphere of fear and poor cooperation a household was isolated. People could not count on labor cooperation from anyone, even in the case of lineage mates. Individual gardens were small and isolated. Stretches of old gardens and uncleared bush separated garden plots in earlier times.

People had customary rights to use land from either parent's matrilineage. The working atmosphere did not allow them to take full advantage of this choice, however. They were limited to investing their efforts in one or two soil types. Wives did not go to the gardens alone. They had to be accompanied by their husbands. There was fear of sexual assaults and violence.

Maintaining gardens and harvesting the root crops were women's responsibilities. Men did the heavy work. They cleared the forest areas and tilled the hard soil. This still is the way labor is divided today.

Clearing the bush involved a combination of burning huge trees and using stone axes. The stone axes were always imported from Woodlark (Murua) Island where they were made in the mountain area known as Siloga. These axes were essential tools in the exploitation of Panaeati's land resources. They were valuable wealth items in early times and were especially important in canoe manufacturing. These green-stone axe-blades (giam) continue to be wealth items today.

Clearing the bush for a new garden was timed by the first positioning of the "Pleiedes" (tonanabobu). The yam gardens were planted in October. The beginning of the strong "Southeast trade winds" (bwaliman) in April marked the beginning of the yam harvest and also the beginning of the Panaeati "new year" (bwaliman veveluna). From April to October yams are abundant and support work activities.

Women gauge their harvest carefully. Some of the yams are directly replanted in the "previous year's garden" (sigaba) in April. These yams will form an important supplement for people during the lean months of February through March. Women place some of the yams in a "yam house" (gonu) in the bush. These yams are used for household consumption and for special hosting activities, and some are replanted in a new garden in October or November. Wise food planning is a quality much valued in a wife. Panaeati men ask how the gardens are doing, but they do not enjoy garden work. This is an old pattern, it seems.

The months before the new yams are ready -- February through late March -- are difficult as noted above. This period is known as hoalu ana sauga ("a time of emptiness"). This is a hunger time, the complement of the work period between April and early September. The work period

also is known as "the time of food" (anan ana sauga). During the lean hoalu months there is very little labor activity because there is no food for the laborers. To some extent, this is still the case today. The lean hoalu months were more severe in the early times than they are today, however. People say the hungry children's crying could always be heard during the hoalu months.

Some relief in the hunger months came from "sago" (kaboli), but Panaeati is only a fair sago growing island. It does not have enough rainfall for an abundant crop. Most of the soil is too coral-filled for sago to grow. Today, people love sago on Panaeati. It is filling and storable. But in the early times sailing to other islands to take advantage of their abundant sago crops was difficult. The reasons for this difficulty will be brought out shortly. For now, it is important to note that sago could not have played as important a part in supplementing people's diet during the lean months as it has since inter-island traveling and trading became possible.

In the early times, people did have certain techniques to get through the lean months. Firstly, it should be noted there are short term crops (three to six months) that are planted at any time of the year. These crops (i.e., bananas, manioc, taro, sweet potatoes) did help somewhat. People state, however, that they have become more important since the mission times than they were in the past. Some of the crops are said to have been introduced by the South Seas teachers who accompanied the early missionaries to Panaeati. But this is difficult to substantiate. There was a long standing tradition of using forest fruits and nuts, however. These fruits and nuts (varieties of Ficus, Sapridaceae,

Mango Fera, Barringtoniacea) mature when they are most needed -- in January and February. Some of them require extensive preparation to reduce their acidity. They are set in the sea, rubbed, and washed in fresh water before final drying. An interesting point about the hoalu fruits and nuts today is that they are still associated with hoarding. Hoarding is generally discouraged on Panaeati. However, there is something different about these foods. I feel it could possibly be a hold-over from the early times when hiding or hoarding hoalu foods could have been critical to the avoidance of real hunger. Today, people rationalize hoarding hoalu foods. They say the delicacy of the foods is so great that it would be a shame to give the foods away.

In the pre-mission times the agricultural potential was severely limited by the atmosphere of distrust and non-cooperation. I do not think this is merely my informants' missionized view of their pagan past. Poor labor organization in the past was probably a more limiting factor than the use of stone axes. People were unable to get the best advantage from their resource potential. Poor cooperation made the early gardeners quite vulnerable to disasters. Wild pigs and ill-timed rains are two ever present threats to successful gardens.

Since people did not fence their gardens in the most efficient manner in early times, gardens were very vulnerable to damage from wild pigs. Separate independent garden plots made it difficult for the people to maintain their garden fences. Fences always needed repairing. Fast action was necessary to avoid a repeat of a previous night's intrusion by wild pigs. Informants state that in the past it was difficult to get people to respond quickly and repair pig fences. When one considers that

the traditional household was usually limited to one or two gardens, pig incursions could be a disaster.

Poor labor cooperation could also be critical during the clearing and burning of the coming year's gardens. Once an area has been cleared of the major bush growth, it is set to rest and people go off about their business waiting for the cuttings to dry out. Sometimes rains come when they are least needed. If it rains consistently after the bush is cleared, a secondary growth appears. This postpones burning. The secondary growth needs clearing and work is doubled. It was easy to lose control of the process of clearing, drying, and burning. This happens today, too. However, in the past it must have been much more difficult to respond quickly to this kind of threat. Disasters short of hurricanes can be dealt with today. Gardening was less stable in earlier times.

The resources of the reef were very important to the traditional Panaeati diet. Fish were especially necessary during the lean hoalu months. The Duboyne Lagoon has rich fishing possibilities, and a variety of fishing methods has always been employed. Large nets are used when the tides are lowest in the lagoon (June through August). Smaller nets, traditional bone hooks, spears for surface diving, and poison are also commonly used. Today, trade-store lines and hooks are employed. But fishing is time consuming, and today it conflicts with certain island-wide activities. This conflict is more fully explained in a later chapter. It can be assumed that people took full advantage of the reef's fish during the early times. This sector of the environment probably was more extensively used formerly than it has been recently (i.e., since the middle 1950's).

Besides getting protein from fish, during the early times people killed wild pigs. Only a few men on Panaeati today carry on the dangerous job of stalking wild pigs with a spear and hunting dogs. Wild pigs are extremely numerous in the bush and represent a threat to gardens. Today when someone does kill a wild pig, the meat is widely distributed and the event is considered an extraordinary treat. However, domestic pigs have always been associated with special hosting activities. Memorial feasts and canoe labor hosting were and are the times people eat pork. These hosting times are mostly in the months when yams are available. It is traditionally appropriate to present a domestic pig along with a wooden bowl of yams. People rarely (if ever) killed domestic pigs out of hunger alone. Domestic pigs supported hosting occasions. And Panaeati tradition requires builders to present pork to laborers for certain labor steps. Most of canoe building, as noted earlier, also takes place during the food months. People on other islands say Panaeati people today eat more pork than anyone because of the labor requirements in building canoes.

In the past, dog and cat meat offered people an occasional protein supplement. This is still the case on Misima Island. Panaeati people were discouraged from eating these animals by the missionaries, but they will eat dog meat when visiting another island. There are almost no cats left in the Misima Sub-district. The malaria program's DDT and indifferent care have wiped out the cats on Panaeati and on all of the islands in Milne Bay. People today complain about the lack of cats because of the increasing numbers of mice. The Administration's malaria program is working on a solution to the cat mortality problem.

The lowland forest is richly populated by hardwoods. One of these species -- Callophylum inophylum -- is used in making large sailing canoes. According to most people on Panaeati, this tree type, called malauwi, is found only on Panaeati. However, some local people feel the tree is found elsewhere too. Section D of this chapter discusses sailing canoes more fully. They have played and continue to play a critical role in Panaeati's social and economic activities.

The traditional Panaeati sailing canoe had elaborate carvings, lashed side strakes and braces, and a pandano oval-shaped sail. To build a canoe called waga hot ("true canoe") or gowa ("pandanus") it was necessary to incorporate sixteen varieties of woods, creepers, and roots. The present Panaeati canoe is called sailau. It is a modified version of the traditional canoe. The change from the old canoe to the contemporary canoe will be examined fully later. For the present, I am concerned with the place of these canoes in the ecology of traditional (i.e., pre-mission) life on Panaeati. In this regard, there are two important considerations. First, what are the relevant factors in the manufacture of the canoe? Here, matters concerning labor and other resource investments are important. Secondly, how did the canoes affect Panaeati's use of the island's other resources?

Older informants refer to more canoe building difficulties with stone axeblades than gardening difficulties with stone tools. Axeblades were powerful prestige items primarily because of their utility in canoe building. Chopping down huge malauwi trees and shaping a canoe's hull and sides are major tasks even today. And today, builders use well-sharpened steel axes. Building Panaeati canoes, however, has never been

a task for a single man. There are very few steps in building a canoe that involve less than five men.

Large labor forces were assembled for certain major steps in canoe building in the pre-mission era. For these major labor sessions, builders provided pigs, sago, and yams. Financing large labor sessions was somewhat like hosting a memorial feast. Both activities represented opportunities for the hsot to show his generosity. Feeding people well has enormous value on Panaeati. Those who do this best gain reputations. In the past, energetic and generous givers acquired more than one wife. They were Panaeati's "big men" (towowosala or guiau).

Builders could get through many other steps without sacrificing a pig. For these steps, a builder's lineage mates and his in-laws supplied the labor force. When a step required a pig, other people from different parts of the island came. These were special occasions. Like memorial feasts, major labor operations were infrequent opportunities for people to mix. These occasions were also opportunities for working sorcery. A host, because of his focal position, was a major target. He was liable to sorcery motivated by jealousy. All occasions for prestige building were dominated by the threat of sorcery. This was the price a person paid for occupying a pivotal position.

There were also opportunities for positive social interaction during memorial activities and during canoe labor sessions. Friendships could develop between people living in different hamlet areas. These friendships then helped people accumulate certain necessary wealth items. The pigs, "axe-blades" (giam), and "wooden bowls" (mwaha) that were "wealth items" (gogoman) for those early times were important in hosting feasts

and canoe labor sessions. These large gatherings provided important opportunities for exchanging wealth items in pre-mission days. People got together who otherwise would have little chance for open contact.

Canoe building was a more specialized activity in pre-mission times than it is today. Some men concentrated on canoe making while others bent their efforts toward raising pigs. The traditional Panaeati canoe was an extremely complicated structure. A critical degree of exactness was demanded not only in the carving specialties but also in shaping and fitting the side strakes into the two endboards. Errors in fitting the braces and sides always upset a canoe's flow through the water. This is still the case with today's modified canoe. It is a safe contention that the limited distribution of stone axes and the difficult carpentry requirements made traditional canoe building more difficult to accomplish than is the case today. A later section examines the structural differences in the canoes quite closely. But there has always been more to building a canoe than its structural and carpentry requirements.

Food sustains a canoe's manufacturing progress. The difficulties of gardening during the early times were directly related to the difficulties in canoe manufacturing. The equation is simple. Without food there is no canoe building on Panaeati. An abundant food supply was necessary for a builder to announce a major labor step. In poor years, we must assume that canoe manufacture (as well as feasting) was adversely affected. It still is today.

An aura surrounds a canoe while it is being built. It begins to acquire a reputation during the early work on it in the bush, and this reputation continues to grow through the remaining work when the canoe

is on the beach. A canoe that is not associated with a large amount of food for the laborers in the bush carries its bad reputation to the beach for the work there. Planning for the critical labor hosting sessions has always been the major concern of a builder and his wife. A good wife plans carefully. She sets aside enough yams to support her husband's canoe building enterprise. In the past, a household's restricted garden yield had to supply enough food for its members as well as for extra-household activities such as canoe building. It must have been difficult to deploy food successfully in leaner years. This is still a major problem for women.

It is difficult to state just how much time canoe building took in traditional times. One of the saving qualities of malauwi wood is that it is strong timber. It can last up to five years without cracking after it is chopped down. Today, some canoes never leave the bush because a builder cannot finance its hauling step. Informants told me that in pre-mission times, canoes made with stone tools took from two to five years to complete. The significant factor controlling the pace was the food supply, rather than the stone tools. Building traditional canoes with stone tools was difficult and tedious. But this could not have affected the over-all building time that much.

In spite of the advances in tools and labor organization, a contemporary Panaeati canoe-builder still takes almost two full years to complete a canoe. During the height of the mission period (i.e., before the 1950's), figures indicate that a canoe took between two and three years to complete. Better tools were not the whole answer. Through the years, Panaeati builders have faced the same burdens. Feeding a labor

group properly has always been difficult. This responsibility has, in fact, increased through the years. It restrains builders from a faster work pace. This change is documented in a later chapter.

Possession of a sailing canoe meant that the owner and his party could gain access to resources beyond the Duboyne Lagoon. But inter-island sailing was very restricted in the pre-mission era. Panaeati's closest contacts included the small Torlesse Islands outside the western end of the Duboyne Lagoon, and Pana Pom Pom Island outside the Duboyne Lagoon. It also included a small island called Mabui, located north of the large reef that enclosed the Calvados Chain of islands. The people of these islands usually were hospitable to Panaeati sailors. This entire area is referred to by the Panaeati people as "our side" (wala labi).

The large island of Misima is referred to as malek ("to the north-east"). The islands of the Calvados Chain east of Motorina Island are called o nati a ("off to the east"). Sudest Island is included in this eastern grouping. The islands west of Panaeati including the Engineer Group are all called Ilok ("west") before a speaker gives a specific reference point. Panaeati sailors visited all of these islands in early times. However, in early times, sailing ventures into these areas were made cautiously to previously established contacts.

Looking at a map of the Louisiade Archipelago, we see that these islands are naturally placed for inter-island traveling. Informants, however, point out that geology and geography (alone) do not establish inter-island communication. Before the missions' and the government's pacification efforts, fear of outsiders inhibited inter-island traveling. While

it is possible that contemporary informants are anxious to testify to their missionization, fear of foreigners is an historical fact in these islands. I received a consistent story from all points in the area. Ventures beyond an island's immediate environment were made only by people with "strong hearts" (atelia gesisi).

Islanders were limited to a considerable degree by the resources of their immediate environment. If people had access to a reef, then they had a good supplement to their gardens. Panaeati was fortunate to have balanced reef and garden resources within its borders. Some islands were not as fortunate.

It is important to clarify the following point about trading. The contemporary situation of open inter-island contact has developed only since the pacification efforts of the Methodist mission and the British (and later Australian) administration. The embryo of this contemporary inter-island communication, however, is found in the infrequent sailing ventures that did occur during the pre-pacification years.

I was fortunate to have the confidence of a very old and intelligent informant named Joel Togilo. This man was born in the last decade of the previous century. He learned a great deal from his father about the early times. Because of his intelligence, his father taught him hundreds of magical spells and a great deal of history. One of these magic spells has already been mentioned. Many of my remarks about the early years come from Togilo's discussions with me.

Togilo mentioned that Panaeati had access to only a few villages on other islands during the pre-mission years. Seven Misiman villages were hospitable to Panaeati sailors most of the time. Four of these seven

villages were on the north side of Misima (i.e., Siagara, Gulewa, Liak, and Manihuna). The remaining three villages were on the south side of Misima facing Panaeati. These villages were Koiatatuwa, Bwaga Bwaga, and Buhunaluwaluwala. These connections with Misima grew out of early contacts by individuals from both places who took part in transactions involving the exchange of skulls for pigs, wealth items, and food. Alliances between the two residential areas developed from these initial partnerships. Two villages occasionally joined forces and raided other villages on Misima or on Panaeati. Raiding and occasional "political" exchanges involving skulls (taken in raids) initiated inter-island contacts during the early years. Small feuds within an island often led to one of the sides in the conflict soliciting outside help. Together they would try to avenge a previous death. Intra-island and inter-island fighting stands out as a dominant theme in this people's history. Traveling down the Calvados Chain, I asked informants about the condition of pre-mission contacts with outsiders. They all gave the same general reply. There was a feeling of hostility and fear throughout the region, but this was broken by a few strategic contact points.

Panaeati and Brooker Island (Utian) were also on friendly terms in the early days. The Brooker people were perhaps the strongest warring people in the entire area (Murry, 1912). Panaeati informants and people with whom I spoke on Brooker noted that the earliest settlers on Brooker came from Panaeati. There is a history of inter-marriage between Brooker and Panaeati that has increased since pacification.

According to local tradition, the original Panaeati settlement moved from the north side of the island to its middle. At some point in the

past, the people moved again to the windward (south) shore. On the windward side, facing the lagoon, they built their houses in the typical pattern of a "line village" (Brookfield, 1971).

There have always been four broad divisions on Panaeati. The eastern end of the island is called Bwaganati ("eastern point"). The middle area of the island is called Paluwaluwala ("middle point"). Its western end is called Bahunapai ("western point"). At some point in the recent past, there was a settlement from the Engineer Group, west of Panaeati. These people were given permission to stay on Panaeati and they settled in the westernmost point beyond Bahunapai. Their residence area is known as Lemuiuwa. Their descendants remain somewhat apart from the rest of Panaeati. Today, population growth has filled with houses the open spaces between the four divisions.

During traditional times, however, there were real social barriers among these "divisions" or "sides" (labi). People crossed boundaries only after standing outside and yelling for permission. Episodes of adultery are often mentioned as the sparks that ignited inter-division raiding. Occasions of communal labor and feasting, as noted earlier, allowed breaks in this pattern of local isolation.

Each "side" had a few exceptionally endowed fighting men who led them in raids. These men were called asiara. They were known for their courage and ability to withstand pain. Some of their courage came from magic and from eating "ginger" (Zingiberaceai) and coconut, which is said to have fired them into fury. A division's major asiara had some minor fighting men under him whose fighting courage also came from magic, given them by special women sorceresses called misinana. These women could make

one of their lineage men an asiara if he showed the right temperament. These women played key roles in battles. They could halt fighting by stepping between the combatants and waving their outer skirts.

During daily social and economic activities the asiara were not important decision makers. They did make decisions about most inter-division relations, however. For a visiting party wishing to enter another island (or another division of the same island) it was necessary to get an asiara's permission before they could beach their canoe. This etiquette was followed even when a prior contact relationship existed between visitors and a host from the foreign side. Visitors yelled the name of their contact friend while outside. They waited for a positive reply. If it did not come, they knew it would be dangerous to enter.

Even when granted permission to enter, visitors were never completely safe. They were in danger from two forms of attack -- sorcery and physical violence. Visitors were careful not to anger their hosts and give cause for an attack. The most common mistake was to be accused of adultery with a local woman. It was important to complete the intended business of the visit and return safely home. It is interesting to note that there is still a bit of uneasiness associated with contemporary inter-island visiting. People still should not get caught breaking local etiquette. There is no threat of physical v. nce, however, although there is still the possibility of punitive sorcery in some islands. This is especially the case in the Sudest area. One of the major results from pacification has been a release from fear and an expansion of visiting to a greater degree than was possible during the warring years. For inter-division transactions people now watch their step out of expediency

rather than fear.

Inter-village alliances used to be based on exchange partnerships. These early partnerships were the model for the expanded inter-group exchange ties that developed after pacification.

A partnership usually began when a Panaeati man (for example) solicited help from a visitor to Panaeati. Perhaps this visitor came to Panaeati as a crew member for another man's transaction. The Panaeati man asked the visitor to find the skull of a person belonging to his own clan. He wanted a skull to balance the death of one of his clansmen. When the man found a skull and later brought it to Panaeati, the Panaeati man paid him well for it.

It was the Panaeati man's responsibility to obtain the necessary material items for the transaction. Some of the items were his personal goods. Some belonged to his lineage mates. Other items came from his debtors. Some items were lent to him for this special occasion. Leaders expected their loans returned. Panaeati people loaned only goods to men who paid their debts. If a man was not a consistent giver in a variety of contexts, he had little chance of receiving help from others. People who did this in an especially generous manner, as we have seen, were known as guiau, Panaeati's "big men."

When word reached the Panaeati man that his new "friend" (heliam) had obtained a skull, he began the task of arranging his finances. He publicly announced to his Panaeati neighbors that debtors, in-laws, and contributors should bring him items and help him. This "announcement" (vevegali) notified people that they should arrange their transactions if they wanted to contribute to the announcer's skull transaction.

On an announced day, the Panaeati man sat on the ground in front of a pandanus mat. He placed a few wealth items on the mat. People coming to contribute to his skull transaction also set their items down on the mat. There was food for these people. They came forward and told the man the terms of their help. If they were clearing a debt, there was no problem. If they were coming to collect a debt, creditors sat and waited until the end of the day. At this time, the man handed over an item that had come in and matched the item that his creditor had previously lent him. Some people came as new creditors. They set their item down and did not expect a return for a long time. A creditor was known as topelipeliha ("one who supports"). Some people came and set their items down only for the day. They came to support the man in a limited manner. These people were adding items to the pot, as it were. All they wanted was a return at the end of the day of either their own wealth item or one matching their item. Such a person was called toalialiyoho ("one who throws down"). The man hosting the event often tried to take a few items and hide them in the house until the end of the day. By hiding them, he could trick his old creditors, for when a creditor came, it looked like the man was doing poorly. According to my informants, this discouraged some old creditors from waiting until the day's end for the final audit.

At the end of the day, the host was supposed to show the number of items he had received. It seems that some people played the game straight and showed all the items to their creditors and some did not. The object was to amass enough goods to pay for the skull that the visitor was bringing. Such fund raising device, when used for "skull purchasing,"

was called baloma leau.

When the Panaeati man's new friend arrived with the skull, he washed it in the sea and propped it up on the center point of a three pointed branch. On the other two branches, the friend placed a ripened coconut. The items were then presented to the visitor. Valuable items in these early times were green-stone axeblades from Woodlark Island (giam), wooden bowls from Misima (mwaha), and pigs (bobu).[3] These were the original valuables with which Panaeati people worked. A man buying a skull also offered baskets of garden yams, pandanus mats for sleeping, traditional shell tools for food preparation, lime pots, and lime spatulae. On Panaeati, clay cooking pots were important gifts to foreigners. In early times, Panaeati was the only pottery source east of the Wari and Tube Tube islands. Another name for Panaeati was, in fact, the "Place of Pots" (Pana Ulun).

After the exchange for the skull was completed, the Panaeati buyer shattered the skull. The broken pieces were then swept away. "Sweeping away" the pieces is called mahala. This act represented clearing away the bad feelings from a local kinsman's death.

This is how "trade friendships" (heliheliam) began. The length of these friendships depended primarily on the reliability of the participants. If each partner kept up his end of the transaction, a relationship could last throughout their lives. It could be carried on by their relatives in the following generations. For example, after the comple-

---

[3]These Woodlark axeblades are called kilam (Belshaw, 1955:25) at Wari Island and beku at the Trobriands (Malinowski, 1922:358).

tion of the "skull transaction" (baloma leau), these new friends could arrange for a canoe building transaction. The Panaeati man would begin to build a canoe for his friend. The integrity and reliability of each friend determined if the new arrangement would also be successful. Ideally, friendships could become permanent. These friendships were not only between men from different islands. Similar relationships also occurred across the inner barriers of Panaeati Island.

People desired to extend the feelings of kinship -- sentiment and solidarity -- to friends. When a friendship bond was continued in succeeding generations by the relatives of the original friends, these people considered themselves "kin" (tutunau). They were bound, or knotted, into a "clan" (un). More specifically, this grouping was called un pepelahi ("knotted by exchange").

The term un reveals peoples' conception of their bond. Un is also the term for the matrilineal clans in the Misiman language, as noted in Chapter I. The term means "a knot" and is used in other contexts (i.e., making canoes and fishing nets) besides descent. Clan mates are bound by an umbilical-like cord stemming from a focal mother's mother. People in an un pepelahi relationship are knotted together by the two original trade friends' exchanges. The highest compliment that one can give to a trade friend is to say that he can be trusted like a kinsman. We have already noted that trust was critical to a visiting party's security in its host's home area. One expects assurance of safety, hospitality, and integrity in exchange transactions with a kinsman. This is the model from which trade partnerships were molded.

We can now summarize pre-miscion inter-island relations. Out of a condition of regional suspicion and provincialism, certain friendship alliances developed. These alliances were important military links. They probably were not critical instruments for supplementing Panaeati's food or other material resources. Panaeati was materially self-sufficient in pre-mission times. It was ecologically well enough endowed to maintain its population. Ventures beyond Panaeati's Immediate Environment were made for political (i.e., raiding and/or wealth exchanges) reasons. Such was also the case for most of the other peoples of the Louisiade Archipelago in pre-mission times.

Owning a canoe in the past was militarily advantageous. Panaeati did not make canoes for people to raid Panaeati. Some canoes did go out to special kin-like friends in foreign islands. In these early times some other islanders made their own canoes. Today's open sailing and trading is a post-pacification development. After mission and government contact, each island's people could take advantage of the region's material resources to complement their own island's resources. Different islands developed their own sailing and trading patterns. On Panaeati, canoe making expanded and became its people's primary contribution (along with clay pots) to the new inter-island market.

In the next section, I examine the early Methodist missionary's strategies, and I discuss how Panaeati became the vanguard of missionization in the Louisiade Archipelago.

II - B

From Darkness to Light -- Missionization

Serious mission activity in the Papuan Islands began in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Earlier, the mainland of Papua, or British New Guinea as it was then called, had been divided into mission zones. In 1874, the London Missionary Society began its work on the coastline of Papua. In 1885, the Roman Catholic Mission of the Sacred Heart started work on Ravao Island, then moved into the Mekeo District. The Anglican Mission began preaching where the London Missionary Society's zone ended, and extended its influence from the East Cape to the German boundary.

It was not until 1891, upon a request from the British Administration and from Reverend George Brown of the London Missionary Society, that the Wesleyan Mission moved into New Guinea and joined the others. This Mission had enormous effect on the islanders of the Louisiade Archipelago.[4] According to Panaeati people, this Mission positively changed the quality of their lives.

The leader of this contingent of Methodist workers was Reverend William Bromilow. Bromilow is still remembered today. He left a written record of his early years in Papua, and especially of his pioneering work with the Dobuans. The following discussion is drawn, to a large

---

[4]It should be noted that the Marist Missionaries arrived in Murua (Woodlark) in 1847 and left the area, closing their mission, in 1852. The Milan Foreign Mission Society came soon after, and departed in 1855 (Murray, 1912:129).

extent, from Bromilow's book, Twenty Years Among Primitive Papuans (1929). Since there are few accounts of early mission work in the area, it is a rare and valuable book. It offers an opportunity to compare Panaeati informants' remarks with a written record, and thus to form an accurate picture of both mission work and the early conditions missionaries faced on the islands.

Dobu Island was selected as the center for the Wesleyan Mission's activity in the region for two reasons. First, the Dobuans were known by the Administration as the fiercest group in this island region. The Dobuans' reputation for warring represented what Bromilow called a "test case" for his mission (1929:61). Secondly, if the mission did succeed on Dobu, the Dobuans could be used for further missionizing. They could work for the mission by using their strongest quality -- their fierceness -- to encourage others to follow their example and accept the missionaries.

Of the Dobuans' first reaction to his party's arrival, Bromilow notes: "The islanders gave no signs of welcome or opposition" (1929:67). This lack of sign may have been because Bromilow entered Dobu under government cover. Although force was not used, in the early weeks he was threatened by some of the local sorcerers. Nevertheless, Bromilow and his party began their work smoothly and confidently. The missionaries were tactful and avoided difficulties with the local people whenever they could.

Bromilow's first step was to plunge into learning the Dobuan language. His early work on Fiji helped him with this (1929:28). He then cultivated the friendship of a powerful "war leader" (tonidoe)

named Gaganumore. He wisely used a traditional Dobuan device of forming strategic friendships to gain a needed ally. With his new friend's help, he gained acceptance from the rest of the Dobuans.

The development of key friendships was one of the missionaries' most important techniques, one they followed on Panaeati. When they arrived on the island, they sought out war leaders and tried to cultivate special friendships with them. Togilo told me that these early missionaries brought war leaders from Dobu with them to Panaeati. This seems very likely, since Bromilow mentions taking his friend Gaganumore and a man named Keokedo to the Trobriands. The Dobuans' reputation was probably as well known on Panaeati as in the Trobriands.

Bromilow is cautious in his account. He does not mention radical changes on Dobu, but his friendships with war leaders made it possible for him to lessen the fighting there. In one section of his book, Bromilow offers interesting comments about fighting techniques in these early times. While his description is of Dobu fighting, it accords well with fighting customs on Panaeati. For example, he notes the important position of women in stopping battles (1929:211). The isolation and separation of residence areas and the existence of intra-island divisions is also mentioned. Both Dobuans and Panaeati people had to call out at foreign boundaries in order to gain admission safely (1929:78).

One of Bromilow's most vivid descriptions of the early period on Dobu is of people making the final adjustments on a war canoe. He comments that he hoped to turn the war canoe into a trading vessel (1929: 144). The following Dobuan illustration shows that the missionaries consciously planned a new, freer inter-island atmosphere. Bromilow observes:

> I did my best to encourage the peaceful designation and use of the great canoe by pointing out that these were new times, that it was a mistake to build a new vessel of war, since peace was coming soon to all these islands. One day, when a number were gathered in the neighborhood of the canoe, I put it to them strongly: Let Dobu set an example to all others; everybody knew how the Edugaulans were the greatest warriors of the group; let them be the first in peace as they had been in war; let the canoe have another name (1929:144).

Changing the canoe into a mission vessel was crucial to Bromilow's work. He displaced the emotional weight of war canoes into more peaceful channels. "The canoe designed in fierce hate and revenge had become a ferry boat for Christian worship" (1929:150). Thus, Bromilow opened the way for peaceful travel in the Dobu region. His success on Dobu made it possible to look to other island areas and to extend his work.

The government suggested that the mission expand into the Louisiade Archipelago. Because it was one of the most cosmopolitan in what was then a limited inter-island communication network, Panaeati Island was chosen as the center for the mission's activities. The missionaries realized that if they could gain footing on Panaeati, they could spread Christianity to the rest of the Louisiade Archipelago's peoples. The government's presence was the beginning of pacification in the region.[5] The barriers were falling and communication was increasing throughout Louisiade. It took the constant presence of the missionaries, however,

---

[5]Early gold mining interests in the Papuan Islands necessitated some Government supervision. Sudest, Woodlark, and Misima had extensive operations around the turn of the century (Souther, 1963). The headquarters for the British Administration of the Papuan Islands was at Nioani Island just on the side of the Duboyne Lagoon from Panaeati. Being close to the Government's station most assuredly influenced the decision to establish a station on Panaeati. There also is little question that proximity to the Government set the example of peace and made the mission's work much easier.(Monckton, 1921).

finally to maintain the peace in this region.[6]

On Dobu, the missionaries had already taken advantage of the traditional communication scheme. News of the mission's work spread quickly along traditional trading channels. The kula links in the Dobu area served as an excellent vehicle for spreading the mission's message (1929:129). The government and Bromilow knew that this would also be the case for Panaeati and its neighbors.

In fact, Panaeati informants told me that word of the mission work on Wari Island in the Engineer Group had already reached Panaeati before Bromilow stepped onto the island. Panaeati sailors who had ventured to the west had asked the Wari missionaries to send someone to them, too.

The mission on Wari Island had been established by the London Missionary Society. In 1891, Bromilow set off to deliver two Samoan teachers to Wari and to take over the mission station from the London Missionary Society. Thus, within one year after his arrival on Dobu, Bromilow sailed to nearby Tube Tube Island, where the people "expressed themselves as ready to receive a missionary, but desired that he should be white" (1929:174). Two days later, his party approached Panaeati. Bromilow recounts his entry.

> A large canoe approached us, but only within hailing distance. I called out to those on board that the Dove was a Mission boat, and they then came nearer, but very cautiously, with sail lowered a little, luffed into the wind, and the crew standing ready to hoist, if any suspicious signs were noted. . . . At last their fears were so far banished that two

---

[6]The Methodists were very resilient. Williams comments that they always were "self extending" since the first mission in 1871 in the Torres Islands north of Queensland (1970:667-8). Harding also comments on missionizing along traditional trading channels Tarni Islanders of Northeast Papua New Guinea (1967:192).

> men swam from the canoe to the Dove and climbed up into the bows, where they stood ready to dive overboard at any moment. They would come to no closer quarters, and I sent my presents forward to them. Another canoe now approached, the occupants shouting to their two friends on the Dove, and soon a number were swimming around us with upturned watchful faces. Finally they made up their minds to trust us and we were guided to anchorage. Fellows, Watson, and I went ashore, and having stated our purpose in coming to the island, we were shown houses which we might hire as temporary residences (1929:176-7).

The two European missionaries who accompanied Bromilow were provided with houses. The next day, the first Sunday service was held on Panaeati (1929:177). Bromilow remarks that the congregation was "attentive, except during the prayers -- during which, as instructed they bowed their heads; the women, especially putting their hands to the back of their necks in undisguisedly weary fashion" (1929:177). I learned from elderly informants that praying was especially alarming to Panaeati people in the early days. People were not used to covering their eyes in public. One man said that the people would cover their eyes with their hands and keep their fingers spread. In this way they could satisfy the missionaries and also keep an eye out for attackers.

The mission secured land directly in the middle of the island's windward side. Bromilow stayed on Panaeati only a few days. He left two Europeans, Mr. Fellows and Mr. Watson, in charge. Mr. Watson soon left the island because of illness. In summing up the Panaeati people's reaction, Bromilow remarks: "The people evinced no enthusiasm at the coming of the missionaries, and, on the other hand, showed no opposition" (1929:177). This is the same unresponsiveness that characterized the Dobuans' initial reaction to the mission. It appears again when

Bromilow discusses his pioneering efforts in the Trobriands. The government and the missionaries felt the sullen and taciturn response of the Papuans as indicative of fear and Godlessness. There were, however, real reasons for this attitude.

It was only a few years before that Queensland Blackbirders had come through the Louisiade Archipelago. The devastating effects of labor recruiting could have made these people apprehensive of strangers (Corris, 1968:101). Moreover, public gatherings were unfamiliar to the local people. In addition, having to transfer land and being told that two Europeans were going to stay was alarming. All of these things could easily have produced the "sullen and frightened" reaction of the Papuans as Bromilow described them. Papuans' reticence should not be equated with lack of character.

The first Panaeati missionaries constructed a station and a school for the children. These were important steps in breaking down the provincialism of the residence divisions. People were encouraged to interact on a broader, more open scale than in the past. The mission station became the focus for the entire island. It created a whole new set of island-wide assemblies in which people could become involved. My older informants went to the early mission schools. They remember the strict Polynesian teachers with mixed feelings. These old people are proud of their literacy in Misiman and Dobuan. However, some of the Polynesian teachers were too quick to punish. The children's parents did not like this.

The mission had set up two programs for schooling. One group of children was completely given up to the missionaries. These children

worked for the missionaries and lived inside the mission station away from their parents. There were other children who went to the school only two times a week. These children lived "outside" (tola) the mission station. Most of my informants came from the outside group. They told me that living on the outside prepared them a bit better for the traditional Panaeati responsibilities of adulthood such as feast making and canoe building.

Their comments may not be unbiased, but they bring out an important point about contemporary values on Panaeati. Adults today are expected to honor and participate in both mission activities and traditional Panaeati activities. The "mission way" (topwalolo ana kamwasa) and the "traditional way" (tanoakau wali kanwasa) have a single binding ideal. This ideal, as noted previously, is the generous giver. To be lax in mission duties (not making sermons, or not contributing labor or money) is as reprehensible as being lax in Panaeati customary responsibilities (such as in-law obligations and material generosity).

This ideal of generosity is expressed by the Wari Island term molulu. It means generosity, kindness, love, and good will from the heart. Its correlate in the Misiman language is guiau. Panaeati's big men were called guiau, although the term has a broader usage. The big men did only what was expected of all hosts. But they did it more often and more abundantly.

This incorporation of the mission ideals of generosity into secular activities on Panaeati is one of the most interesting aspects of the mission's success on the island. The ideal of molulu reinforced and supported the traditional giving ideal. It stabilized this traditional

ideal and protected the Panaeati people from disillusionment and incongruities resulting from changing times. Giving not only remained important, it became even more important, because it fit the new mission-inspired moral atmosphere. We shall come back to this matter in more detail in the next section's discussion of the mission's influences.

There was one major blemish on Panaeati's record of cooperation with and hospitality to the mission. The wife of one of the early Polynesian teachers was killed by an irate Panaeati man. Bromilow notes the incident as a most unfortunate strain on his peaceful mission activities in the area. This was the only death in his entire campaign in New Guinea (1929:166). The story is still well known, and the woman's grave is still visible. As late as 1969, the mission asked the Panaeati people to cement the grave and place a marker noting the woman's name and the year of her death. Following is Bromilow's account of the "incident":

> One Sunday morning, Seluaia (the woman) was alone with her baby in the native house, ... Suddenly an infuriated man rushed in and struck her with a knife, wounding her severely. The man followed her and smote her again and again, until he left her for dead or his madness abated.
>
> The cause of the attack was that one of the wives of this man had gone off with a native of another island, a visitor to Panaeati. ...., he went out to find the first stranger to the island, upon whom he might wreak his vengeance, and the one he found was the gentle, defenceless Seluaia.
>
> It is not thirty years since the Mission boat, the Dove, came sadly to anchor at Dobu from Panaeati, the Captain unwillingly and almost unable to tell me what had happened there. I can better judge it now, and I see plainly how profound was the influence of Seluaia's tragic death. A sense of the <u>wickedness</u> of the deed, and that was a new conception in Panaeati, was created; while Josia's Christian resignation and hope stood out in strong

> relief against the utter darkness of native superstition on the island.
>
> The murderer was tried before a District Magistrate and sentenced (by the Supreme Court) to ten years' imprisonment, but at the end of five years, was liberated on the ground of good conduct and in consideration of the provocation he had received and the native custom of current life and affairs of the island. To his amazement, he received a message from Josia that Seluaia had forgiven him before she died, that he also had forgiven him, and that the Christians of Panaeati would not turn their backs on him if he came to church.

There is little question that Bromilow overstates some points when he recounts the success of early mission ideals on Panaeati. The early missionaries' success on Panaeati was also due in part to the material improvements that came with the new moral atmosphere. The missionaries brought trade-store items with them. There was a new supply of tobacco and tools on the island. Moreover, the new moral atmosphere that stressed fluid social interaction and generosity made it possible for people to fulfill their traditional, customary responsibilities in a "better way" than in the pre-mission days. In the next section, I discuss how the mission's new working atmosphere allowed Panaeati people to take fuller advantage of their environment.

In spite of the one tragic incident described above, Panaeati people feel very proud of their mission history. They are proud that the mission landed on Panaeati first. They feel ahead of the rest of the people in the Misima Subdistrict because of their earlier missionization. They are proud of their island's hygiene and its hospitality to European visitors. They are also proud of their generous contributions to the mission's annual collection. These accomplishments contribute importantly --

along with their traditional customs -- to the positive image Panaeati's people have of themselves today.

II - C

The Time of Light -- (1) The Mission Period

As described in section I, pre-mission times on Panaeati were characterized by restricted inter-group cooperation. This hostile working atmosphere dominated the people's utilization of their immediate and regional environments. People did not have open access to foreign residence areas inside Panaeati or to those outside the lagoon. The lack of freedom to socialize and to work was materially disadvantageous. Another constraint in these early times was the supply of stone tools. This section examines how the Panaeati people took fuller advantage of their resources after the mission was firmly established.

In his discussion of the effects of modernization on agriculture in Melanesia, Brookfield remarks that "the change in values as between traditional culture and traditional forms of wealth, and introduced activities and goods is perhaps the most far reaching in its ultimate effects on agriculture (1971:122)." Panaeati experienced this kind of constructive change after the mission's arrival in 1891. However, it is better to call the "change" in values a "realignment."

This realignment can best be described as an extension of good will and love for people beyond a small circle of immediate relatives, in-laws, and friends. This mission ideal, as noted earlier, is called mololu. The term is taken from the Wari Island language. One missionary suggested that perhaps the early pioneer missionaries could find no

Panaeati term to convey this idea. They took an established term that was used by the London Missionary Society in their work on Wari. It is likely that the Panaeati people had already heard this term before the missionaries introduced it.

Mololu did not represent a revolutionary idea to the Panaeati people. It was seen as an extension of the traditional ideal of generosity, called guiau. It was also considered characteristic of another Panaeati value called labe. Labe refers to "helping" someone through giving service or a material good. This traditional Panaeati term was picked up by the missionaries and stressed. It became part of the new moral atmosphere on Panaeati.

Along with labe and mololu, the missionaries introduced other terms to reinforce their teachings. Today, when people meet on the road they say ateu owa. This greeting means, "I extend my heart to you." The "heart" (aten) is the area that holds "feelings" (amnan) according to the Panaeati people. For example, a "heart ache" (atena i lomwan) occurs when someone has lost a lover. Nervousness arising from uncertainty about the future is called a "heart fluttering" (atena bwanabwana). A generous person has a "big heart" (atena i bwaia). And a sad person has a "heavy heart" (atena i puluwan). The missionaries introduced the idea that one should give his best feelings -- his heartfelt feelings -- whenever possible.

Conversations today are filled with these mission greetings. In the past, my informants state, people rarely greeted each other. When they did greet each other, they only uttered the word gan ("fellow"). It is today considered poor etiquette to use this term as a greeting.

Greeting someone today indicates that you are expressing positive feelings for that individual. When person "A" is greeted by the term ateu owa, "A" reciprocates with the same term. People exchange good feelings with each other. I feel that the mission consciously stressed these greetings in order to decrease people's suspicions of each other. If person "A" immediately greets person "B" with a positive greeting, he has nothing but good feelings for "A". There is no reason to fear person "A". Positive greetings were important forerunners to a change in moral atmosphere. Greetings made fluid social interaction possible.

The material advantages from embracing the mission's ideals were quite clear to the people. The mission's early and lasting success must be interpreted in light of the mission's real utility to the Panaeati people. Adopting mission-inspired ideals and activities improved the "quality" of Panaeati life.

What changes did the mission bring about in agriculture? In the previous section, the limitations of the single household gardening unit were revealed. It was stated that a household's annual opportunities for a good year were restricted. A household gardened only one or, perhaps, two plots. The relative productivity of different soils varied according to the annual rainfall. Different rainfalls each year made it hard to know in what soil type to invest. A traditional household was limited to the success of the garden (or gardens) that it planted that year. A poor year affected the chances for extra-household activities as well. Only the few "big men" (guiau) who had more than one wife could be prepared for hosting each year. These men could take advantage of their wives' separate garden plots.

The freer mission-induced atmosphere made it easier for people to work more gardens per household. A man did not have to worry quite so much about his wife's safety when she went into the bush to garden. Women had to be protected only from gossip now. The threat of physical attack was lifted. Women took companions with them to the gardens only to avoid gossip, as is still done today. The new working atmosphere also made some garden tasks easier. People made more gardens in a more efficient manner than they had before. Accordingly, households had greater security in garden resources.

The following outline gives a more complete picture of the Panaeati gardening cycle than the brief discussion in The Period of Darkness section. I am presenting the tasks involved in slash and burn agriculture on Panaeati as I saw them in 1970 and 1971. This pattern has been consistent since the mission period.

The Annual Gardening Cycle

early August -- This is the beginning of the discussion of the coming year's garden plots. Elders of a matrilineage along with their sisters' sons decide where the coming year's gardens will be located. There is no land shortage on Panaeati. People do not follow one set pattern of fallow rotation. Relatives and in-laws clear "random," "lomear," and "cyclical" patterns of cultivation (cf. Brookfield, 1971:108). They return to a used section of land when the secondary growth has regenerated. The sign that the earth is

ready for another garden is when the new leaves fall from the trees.

August - September -- The end of the southeast trade winds occurs at this time. The actual clearing of the bush begins. Cutting the medium-sized bush is called lamol. This medium-sized bush is called aiyagin. "Bush knives" (kalipa) are used exclusively. Cutting down certain large trees is called tal. The work is done by men. At this time, men cut some wood and bush for burning.

October -- The Panaeati people are positive that burning (ginaha) is necessary for a successful harvest. The first burning is done by the men. It is feared that the women's grass skirts (loba) will catch fire. Women do the second burning. They sweep and clean the burned areas, making piles of dried wood around fallen trees.

October -- Building fences is referred to as tautu. Another term for fence is gana. Fences are sometimes built before firing, but usually afterwards. Large labor groups of men using steel axes make the largest possible fence to minimize the labor effort. Fencing is critical because of wild pigs.

October - November -- A large fenced-in garden area is swept by women. This operation is called hala. Divisions are then

laid down. Logs are set to mark off separate squares. The major squares are called siga. The logs also catch climbing yam creepers. Cross-pieces perpendicular to the major siga are called siga balabala. The large garden area is divided like a checker board.

November -- Gial means tilling ground in preparation for planting. Brookfield calls this form of selective ground preparation "spot tillage" (1971:107). A large digging stick called lilu is made by using a bush knife. People make a stick based on their height and strength. This work is for men and the strongest women only. The coral, cement-like ground on most of the island has led to the use of another tool -- the metal crow bar. This is referred to by a pidgin word bar.

Before the ground has rehardened from the tillage, planting begins. It is referred to as pil pil and is entirely women's work. A woman takes the best seed yams from her yam house (gun). The yams are cut in preparation for planting. Cutting is referred to as huhu. The top of the yams is called kokowana. The side cuttings are called bebena. Cuttings are planted no deeper than a hand's length. Placing them deeper is not good for the final yield. The "heads" (kokowana) are placed in the ground with sprout upright. These

are picked first. The "side cuttings" (bebena) are placed vertically in the ground and the roots extend from the flat side. Replacing dirt over the cutting by hand is called iamui. The trade store knife called kaini is important for this work.

December - April -- These are lean months. During January and February there is a small crop of yams that were planted the previous May. This food is for old people and small children. There also is a yield from the short term (3 to 6 months) crops. Varieties of taro, bananas, European potatoes, sweet potatoes, and manioc supplement the diet. These short-term crops are referred to as a group by the term gala galoman, "to scatter about." Panaeati has only scattered friable soil and does not have abundant rainfall. People plant these short-term crops as supplements throughout the year. Some people plant short-term crops in their yam gardens. During this period, the plots are maintained by women. This work involves sweeping and cleaning the gardens. Men repair fences damaged from wild pigs. February to April are the leanest months. This period is the severe hoalu ("hungry") time.

late April - early May -- The new year begins with the southeast trade wind's first blowings. The yam crops planted nine months earlier are slowly uprooted. This is completely the

women's responsibility. Uprooting the yams is called la kenken. Only the first early yams are taken out at this time. Women gauge their crop carefully. Some of the yams are replanted immediately for the hoalu lean months. Some are left in the ground. Some are placed in yam houses in the bush.

May - September -- This is the food time, or the "work time." Canoe building and memorial feasting are financed by the abundance of the yam harvest. People want only yams for special hosting occasions. Mixed foods will not do. Women carefully deploy their harvest so they can get the most from their crop. Late August and September is the time the women make their formal memorial yam presentations (hagali).

The increased availability of steel axe heads and bush knives could not alone have achieved the increased annual garden yield on Panaeati. Steel tools along with better labor cooperation formed a different "labor complex." This complex allowed for a more efficient and fuller use of Panaeati's gardening possibilities.

The association of steel tools with the mission is part of the people's folk history. There must, in fact, have been tools filtering into the island region before the mission came to Panaeati.[7] But the

[7]Sudest and Misima islanders experienced considerable western contact through extensive gold mining operations carried out at the turn of the century. Mining stopped first at Sudest and later on Misima. Tools must have circulated as a part of these operations.

mission brought more tools and allowed the peaceful entry of more traders into the area.

Steel tools are important for the initial clearing and fencing of gardens. Brookfield comments that ease of bush clearing is the most important gardening benefit received from steel tools (1971:121). On Panaeati, this is very evident. Panaeati men do not like to garden. They take as little part in gardening as they can. Being able quickly to clear the bush for the next year's gardens was a welcome improvement, according to my informants.

Along with clearing, the advantages of steel tools and labor cooperation are extremely important for fencing gardens. It is sometimes important to finish a task quickly. When a fence has been broken by wild pigs, it is critical to repair it the same day. If not, the pigs will return and finish the ruin of the garden. Fast cooperation and fast work can save an entire garden. After mission brought greater social cohesion, people responded better to disasters than before.

It is one thing to have the capability to make more gardens (resulting from better cooperation and better tools), but it is quite another matter to secure legal access to land in order to develop these new gardens. The increased cooperation that allowed people to mingle freely and exchange services with each other also encouraged more lending of material goods. People were giving things to others to a much greater extent than they did before the mission arrived. Informants state that the mololu ideal made it easier to get permission to garden for a year on another person's land. People could now take fuller advantage of the entire island's resources. A man and a woman could use a friend's land

for a year as well as either parent's land. People on Panaeati today are extremely free about granting yearly rights for gardening. Decisions are usually made by the eldest man in the lineage. It is not difficult to "request" (awanun) garden space. In fact, there are real advantages in a large group of people gardening together in the same area.

The advantages are that more people can get more out of their gardens for less work. Panaeati people do economize on labor tasks that they do not enjoy. No one enjoys tedious work. Specifically, the advantages of having one large fenced area rather than scattered lineage and/or separate household gardens are obvious. Repairing and maintaining a fence is easy when there are many workers. People share the responsibility for keeping the fences in good order. Group labor improves each household's annual gardening chances. And thus, it improves their food security.

Informants also contend that the new cooperation improved their chances for gardening success during the lean hoalu months. Informants state that the Polynesian teachers introduced new crops and techniques on Panaeati. Among these crops, they said, were sweet potatoes, manioc, European potatoes, and varieties of banana. This list is questionable and cannot be confirmed by the present study.[8] The hoalu period (i.e., February to April) was made easier, however, by the increased material exchanges that were occasioned by pacification. Trading increased inside of Panaeati and between Panaeati and its neighbors in the region.

---

[8]Brookfield notes that some of these varieties seem to be post-1800's introductions (i.e., Manihot and Xanthosoma "American taro") (1971:84-5).

Important help in easing hunger during the lean months came from sago. This storable and filling food is prized on Panaeati today. After pacification, the Panaeati people could take advantage of islands better endowed for sago production, such as Motorina, Misima, Pana Tinani, and Sudest Islands. Panaeati is only a fair island for sago, as it does not have the muddy soil and the abundant rainfall needed to grow large quantities of this crop. Panaeati people found a new market for their pots in these sago-rich areas. Sago was exchanged for pots and for smoked shell fish.

Panaeati's reef still supplied an important addition to the diet in the mission period. The missionaries encouraged large group fishing expeditions outside as well as inside the reef. They introduced a light weekly schedule. Sunday was a complete rest day on which fishing was not allowed. People were supposed to bring back enough fish on Saturday for the following day. Women were encouraged to bring in two days' food supply on Saturday. The missionaries did not impose strong scheduling on the people, however. They fished on other days in the week.

Fish became an important trading item. Misimans wanted fish. They still do, but Panaeati people today do not export a great deal of fish to the Misimans. It is possible that they took a more active part in trading fish to the Misimans during the mission period. My older informants state that this was indeed the case. Another comparison with Brooker Island is interesting.

Brooker Islanders today actively engage in fishing, smoking the fish, and sailing to Misima to exchange the fish for food, sago, cash, betel, and pepper. This is the case because Brooker Island is small and

receives little rain. Its resources are inadequate for its population, so its people are more active sailors and traders than the Panaeati people of today. In the early days of the mission's influence, it is very possible that Panaeati actively engaged in fishing trips for trading purposes. These ventures, however, tapered off towards the end of the mission period (i.e., the early 1950's). This decline did not occur on Brooker, however. The need for other larger islands' food resources was never as strong on Panaeati as it was on Brooker. Brooker's aggressiveness in raiding was noted earlier. Its aggressiveness in trade should also be remarked. I will return to this aspect of Brooker Island later.

How did the mission's influence affect Panaeati's canoe manufacturing industry? It is important to approach this question from two planes -- the canoe building process, and the "market" conditions (i.e., the demand for canoes).

The ready supply of steel axeblades, according to informants, was more helpful to canoe making than it was to agriculture. Along with the axeblades, people set plane blades into adz handles. These two items are indispensable in today's canoe making. Informants state that it took a full generation to learn how to maintain their steel tools properly. Today, people maintain their tools extremely well. A few men were trained as carpenters by the missionaries and the government. They fashion perfect axe handles when one breaks. They lend tools cautiously. There was, however, no simple equation whereby an increase in tool efficiency made it easier for a man to complete a canoe. In spite of an increased demand for the canoes and the better building techniques,

the food requirements a builder had to meet stabilized canoe building on Panaeati.

The pace of canoe building is controlled primarily by a builder's food supply. It should be restated that it is as important for a Panaeati builder to feed his laborers well as it is to receive a good exchange for his completed canoe. This was true in the traditional era. It continued to be the case in the mission period, and it remains true today.

Improvements in agriculture affected canoe manufacturing. Because food has always fueled canoe manufacturing, gardening improvements should have resulted in increased canoe building if the demand for canoes increased as well. Pacification did increase the demand. Mission and government efforts opened the Louisiade region to freer communication. People from Sudest, Misima, and all of the smaller islands in the Calvados Chain now wanted Panaeati canoes. Panaeati peoples' trading after pacification was concentrated on exporting canoes to the rest of the archipelago.

Traditionally, Panaeati canoes were made almost exclusively for bridewealth presentations to a builder's in-laws. Only a fraction of the total canoes made in the Period of Darkness were given to people on other islands. Now the market had widened and the traditional canoes were made on a larger scale than before. Canoe making became an enterprise that engaged more men than before. It was no longer restricted to only part of the population. More people on Panaeati could share in the region's wealth. Now, Panaeati canoes were contracted to friends. More and more of Panaeati's hardwoods were cut, but there was no danger of

using up the rich resource. The trees propagate rapidly by wind.

In fact, Panaeati people allowed their Brooker Island relatives and friends to cut some malauwi trees and float the timber back to Brooker where they completed the canoe. Brooker people had been experimenting with a new canoe model, called a sailau. Panaeati builders did not readily give up their traditional form of canoe in favor of the new Brooker one. During the first three decades of the present century Panaeati builders remained attached to their "traditional canoe" (waga hot). The story of their transition to the Brooker-inspired model is fully discussed in the next section.

The mission did away with dealings in skulls. Freer sailing and more frequent visits to other islands opened the way for inter-island marriages. Marriage bonds stabilized inter-island ties more firmly than friendships. Bonds between in-laws are thicker than they can be among the best friends. In-laws are more reliable than friends. They are bound up in a complicated series of customary duties to "stand behind" (mil teli) and to support each other.

Visitors to other islands still had to watch themselves, however, especially in the case of adultery. People still had a healthy respect for another island's sorcery. But the atmosphere was much more open after pacification. People could walk freely and engage friends in conversations that led to future transactions. The mission's ideals also helped catalyze new trading arrangements.

Informants told me that the mololu ideal of generosity and good will encouraged more giving among friends and in-laws. The fundamental link that was always critical to Panaeati transactions was verbal requesting.

This activity is called awanun. Requesting is used for obtaining all help, materials as well as services. People who spoke "best" obtained items from their friends and relatives according to lending arrangements. After the mission came to Panaeati, people framed their awanun requests in mission-inspired terms. The mololu concept fit this traditional Panaeati activity extremely well. People had found a new tool to fulfill their traditional desires.

Borrowing and requesting became easier. Older informants told me that the entire mission "complex" was borrowed and used for secular profit. They remember that their parents were especially impressed with European-mission etiquette. The following story, told to me by Togilo, serves as an example of early Panaeati pragmatism:

> Togilo went to Motorina to see an important person (guiau) about the possibility of getting a pig. When Togilo sat down in the house with the man, he began his request and included the English word "please." The mission people had taught the Panaeati people to use this word. The mission had not gone to Motorina yet. The man did not know the word that Togilo used.
>
> The man called his wife over to hear the new word. He asked Togilo what the word meant. Togilo said it was what the mission people said you should use when asking for something.
>
> The man was extremely happy to have another useful tool that he could use. He and his wife

> gave Togilo a huge pig (i.e., one with tusks). They said that there was no return for this pig because Togilo gave them an important new word.

This is not an exaggeration by an old man. I have recorded many requesting sessions that people made for my benefit. Many of these requests utilize a "mission" (topwalolo) rationale as another reason why a person should grant a request. It was right to grant a request because that is how people should act.

Unlike the kula area to the north and the west of Panaeati Island, there never was an overriding trading ring or cycle that bound together distant neighbors in the Louisiade Archipelago. Some important general statements about the Louisiade people's adjustments after pacification can be made, however. (The conclusion to this study deals with a more general comparison of Louisiade people's trading with kula people's trading.)

Different islands responded to the new, open, inter-island atmosphere differently. Each island operated in the Louisiade region as an independent unit. Different islands had "different needs" from other islands. On Panaeati, canoes were the primary focus. The large islands (e.g., Misima, Motorina, Sudest, and Pana Tinani) had abundant sago supplies, as noted earlier. Where there is sago, there are good opportunities for pig husbandry. These islanders wanted Panaeati canoes. Panaeati people primarily wanted pigs and valuables. They also wanted foodstuffs such as sago and yams. But pigs and valuables could be

immediately used for "political activities"[9] on Panaeati. These were mostly the memorial occasions mentioned earlier.

Panaeati's pots were often given as hospitality items. Pots brought sago, food, betelnut, and pepper. These items were rarely critical to maintaining Panaeati's population; but they were important for getting food in the hoalu lean months. The pottery on Panaeati was strategically given out to keep the hospitality and good feelings open for more important "political" transactions. Important transactions primarily involved canoes, pigs, and wealth items. Panaeati sailors loaded their canoes with pots in order to gain entry and to engage in "political" transactions for "wealth items" (gogomau) needed back on Panaeati to support important memorial hosting activities.

Other than in the hoalu period, Panaeati trading rarely was inspired by hunger. Panaeati's well rounded resource endowment adequately supplied most of its food needs. It is important to keep in mind that Panaeati people still sailed primarily for political (i.e., hosting) reasons after pacification. People wanted the items that could supply their internal hosting occasions. They did not sail out of hunger. Perhaps the only island in the region that did sail out of necessity was Brooker.

As noted above, Brooker Island needed resources from richer islands to support its population. It still does. Brooker Island is deficient

---

[9]Throughout this study "political" refers to important exchanges among men involving pigs, canoes, valuables, and cash, and also yams and pig distributions to the community. Women's "political" activities are their yam memorial presentations (hagali). These activities build public reputations because they are ultimately associated with the most valued Panaeati resource -- land.

not only in food supplies, it is also deficient in betel. Brooker people often sail only for betel ingredients. Although Panaeati is fairly well endowed in this regard, Panaeati people in the past and today sail to obtain food, sago, and betel. The parallel between Brooker Island and Panaeati is extremely interesting. Brooker's reactions to pacification will be compared with Panaeati people's reactions in discussions in later chapters.

As a result of the increased inter-island contact throughout the region, there was an increase in the availability of all material goods. Panaeati did well. Its internal economic and political activities increased during the mission era. Public eating and dancing activities operated on a wider scale than before the mission arrived. There was much visiting of foreign areas. Panaeati sailors went all the way to New Guinea and spent long periods of time visiting friends and in-laws. Some songs and dances were borrowed from the west, especially from Fergusson, Goodenough, and Wari Islands, and the Engineer Group.

The traditional wealth items remained important. Pigs, greenstone axeblades from Woodlark Island, and wooden bowls from Misima were desired by Panaeati and by all the other people in the Louisiade Archipelago as well. Important new additions to the traditional wealth complex appeared in the form of cash and shell necklaces.

The red spondylus shell necklaces, called sapisapi throughout Milne Bay, are famous on account of their part in the kula exchanges in the northern and western islands of the Bay (Seligman, 1910 and Malinowski, 1922). In these islands, shell necklaces played a critical part in political affairs. In Panaeati, Misima, and the Sudest area, these

shell necklaces were actively circulated only after European contact in the area. The early wealth complex for this island region did not include shell necklaces.

European contact in the area near Sudest predated the mission's arrival on Panaeati. Sudest was a mining center towards the end of the last century. Gold mining also became important on Misima after Sudest. Hundreds of white miners left Sudest in the early part of this century. Traders in the Sudest area and in the Rossel Island area commercialized shell necklaces. These traders hired local craftsmen and they furnished them with stones and drills.

There was a traditional precedent for these necklaces. In the pre-contact era some were traded from Rossel Island to the eastern villages of Sudest. From Sudest, a few necklaces passed from "big man" to "big man" (i.e., guiau) in a westward path. However, informants stated that in these early times very few "Rossel necklaces" (bagi lova) circulated. In these early times, there were also a few shell necklaces from Murua (i.e., Woodlark Island), called sonava or bag Murua. Shells from the Rossel area are a rich red, while shells from the Murua area are yellow in color. It is important to note two things about these necklaces: first, they were widely circulated as a consequence of the post-contact situation; secondly, there are a variety of shell necklace types from various island areas in Milne Bay. They are all referred to by the general term bagi. But bagi is valued differently and it is used differently throughout Milne Bay. In addition to coming from the Rossel and Sudest areas, bagi comes from Motorina, the Engineer Group of islands, and from the Woodlark (i.e., Murua) area. Bagi from

Motorina is called alumoil It is extremely rare today. Murua bagi is called sonava by people from Panaeati, Misima, and Sudest. This type is not as rare in the Louisiade today.

During the early 1900's, informants told me many bagi necklaces were sold in Samarai. Buntings Ltd. sold bagi made from Sudest and Rossel shells for $12.00 for the best quality string.[10] The rich red color of the Rossel bagi seemed to be the favorite throughout Milne Bay in these early times. Informants also mentioned that at one time Buntings tried to sell plastic necklaces. This inferior bagi was rejected by the local people.

Besides stringing the shells into bagi necklaces, the small shell discs are also found on three other wealth items in the Panaeati area. One of these items is another necklace that is shorter than a bagi necklace. This wealth item is called kaipwesa and used to sell for $14.00, according to informants. They seem to be out of circulation today. Belts decorated with spondylus discs, like the ones used for bagi and kaipwesa, are called donakoma. These belts were sold for about $2.10 and are also out of circulation today. The third item is shaped like a mushroom and is decorated around the rims with spondylus shell discs. The value comes from these shell discs. This item, called gabulita, is still in active circulation.

Thus, bagi necklaces from the Rossel area circulated widely during the historical era. In the Louisiade, they soon outnumbered the bagi

---

[10]One famous mining personality was Mrs. Mahoney who lived on Sudest Island. She was instrumental in early bagi making for export to Samarai. Malinowski also mentions commercial manufacture of bagi necklaces (1935, V.1:19-20).

from Murua. Rossel bagi and the traditional axeblades (giam) are wealth items in great demand on the Louisiade Archipelago. There is still some bag Murua on Misima, Sudest, and the eastern end of the Calvados Chain, but there was none on Panaeati while I was there. Most Panaeati people do not like it. While the early traders are gone from the Sudest area, some Rossel Islanders and some people in the Sudest area make bagi necklaces today. They play an important part in Panaeati people's economic affairs. Louisiade peoples "work with" the bagi in their own way.

Bagi was never used in a patterned trading ring of the kula type by the islanders in the Louisiade Archipelago. Misima, Panaeati, Sudest, and Calvados Chain Islanders did offer bagi and mwali (i.e., "armshells") to Murua sailors who came into the area. However, they did not give these items as one kula partner to another. They presented the items according to the local trading rules to which they were accustomed. The Louisiade people did not know exactly what Murua people did with these items when they returned to Murua. One Brooker Islander put it this way, "We just don't know their (the mwali) work."

The people in the Louisiade Archipelago never received "armshells" (mwali) -- referred to locally as masuali -- from Murua people. They have always released the armshells for trade whenever they found them. Some people in the Calvados area dived for the shells and offered them unfinished to the Murua. Sometimes the divers finished the armshells, which they then presented to Murua visitors. They received five bagi necklaces for a pile of five armshells. Green-stone axeblades were also accepted in exchange for the armshells. Murua and Mailu divers came to the rich reefs near Sudest and dived for the armshells after pacification.

In fact, visitors from both of these areas came into the Louisiade Archipelago during my visit during 1970 and 1971. A party from Yegum Island near Murua came to Misima in March. They sailed with the last of the northwesterly winds. They returned north with the first blows of the south-east trade winds. They visited their Misiman relatives who lived in a village on the north coast of Misima. Panaeati people remember Murua people's visits to Panaeati. In fact, there is some inter-marriage between the two areas. The Murua people used to stay on Panaeati for several months at least. Sometimes they would even garden on Panaeati. No Panaeati person has sailed to the Murua area in a locally made canoe. They joke about debts owed them by Murua visitors. The visitors cordially invite the Panaeati and Misimans to sail to Murua and collect their debts. This is the customary procedure. But no one has yet made the long trip. Panaeati sailing is limited to Sudest Island to the east and to the Engineer Group to the west.

In 1970 and 1971, I saw several Mailu canoes making their annual eastward journey to the Louisiade Archipelago to dive for shells. Some of the Mailu canoes sailed north to the Kiriwina area. Panaeati people were indifferent to the Mailu visitors. There seem to be some hard feelings on account of alleged coconut poaching by previous Mailu sailors. Mailu people have stayed on Panaeati Island in the past few years. They have not held up their end of the borrowing arrangement, according to Panaeati people. The Mailu sailors have closer ties with the Sudest people and the people in the eastern end of the Calvados Chain. Some Mailu canoes are now equipped with small outboard motors. They spend about six weeks in the Louisiade area before returning east with the

beginning southeast trade winds.

The period of time after the landing of the mission until the early 1950's marked the high point of inter-island trading for Panaeati people. The Mission Period is warmly remembered by old people. They say there was a great deal more freedom to sail and visit in the Mission Period than there was in the early times or than there is today. People sailed off to other islands in the area for long periods of time. The atmosphere was more cordial than in the Period of Darkness. Economic venturing prospered on Panaeati. Traditional Panaeati canoes brought in valuables, pigs, and some cash that allowed people to finance local memorial activities. More people fulfilled their traditional customary obligations to present things to others than was the case in the fighting times. The guiau ideal -- generosity -- prospered under the mission's influence, even though the top big men ultimately were dispensable. The last one died a few years ago.

The mission's efforts in this island region did not deflate the people's economic or psychological vitality. It did just the opposite. According to informants, the atmosphere created by the mission (with the government's assistance) allowed more people to fulfill themselves according to traditional standards than was ever possible before. During the mission period, life was just complicated enough, according to many people.

In the next section we shall consider the transition in canoe style that occurred during the mission's period of influence.

II - D

The Time of Light

(2) From a Traditional Canoe Style to a New Canoe Style

In the last section, we discussed the opening of the Louisiade Archipelago to freer inter-island communication. After pacification Panaeati people expanded their canoe making into an exporting industry. They continued to make the traditional type of canoe that they had always made. Their adequate land and reef resources allowed Panaeati people to concentrate their trading efforts around canoe building and trading. Their pottery continued to be instrumental in cementing friendships that were sources of a variety of desired goods, such as garden foods, sago, betel, and pigs, as well as being sources of traditional wealth items. But the Panaeati people's desire for food supplements to their island's resources was never as great as the Brooker people's desire.

Brooker Island people sailed for food and betel at a more intense level than any other island people in the Louisiade Archipelago. Brooker is a good example of necessity as the "mother of invention." These people experimented and perfected a fleeter sailing canoe than the traditional Panaeati canoe in the first two decades of this century. In this section, we examine the transition to this new canoe style as it affected Panaeati canoe making and trading. We also discuss some changes in the region where the rich trading sources shifted away from

Misima Island to the eastern end of the Louisiade Archipelago. This section offers a sound introduction to the more substantive detail about canoe economics found in Chapter V.

Panaeati's almost exclusive possession of an extraordinary timber for canoe making has given it a special economic position among its island neighbors. Without this timber, Panaeati would not be the same. The manufacture and the sale of canoes is the most vivid characteristic of Panaeati culture. Canoes have always given the people a strong sense of pride and identity.

The densely wooded forest covering much of Panaeati has a variety of hardwoods that are adequate for canoe manufacturing. One of these woods, called malauwi (Calaphyllum inophyllum), is by far the preferred wood. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the malauwi tree to the people of Panaeati. This fact is reinforced by the following questions: Why is this wood found only on Panaeati? Why does it grow in a concave bend that is the right shape for a hull? How can the wood be hard enough to withstand the rigors of years of sailing while pliable enough to be bent? Why do no secondary branches grow from a fallen malauwi tree? Why do these trees grow only from seeds? Why is the inside of the tree red like the inside of a person's body? These are major questions that contribute to the canoe complex's significance in the lives of the Panaeati people.

Some of these questions are answered in the following two traditional myths.

> There was a Panaeati woman who was pregnant. She got bigger and bigger and everyone thought that she was going to

have a child. She finally gave birth to a "seed" (pwatum). She was ashamed of giving birth to a seed and gave it to her husband to take to the garden in the night. He did so and "planted" (iamui) the seed. The woman went to the sea and began to drink salt water just as if she had given birth to a real child. People said to her "Where is the baby? Before, you were pregnant." She told them to just wait for awhile and they would see.

Meanwhile, the plant grew and gave fruit. The fruit fell and more plants grew. These were the first malauwi trees. The woman said to her brother,[11] "You have no valuables and your name is not big (widely known). Go and cut a canoe from the tree and then you will find valuables. You can sell the canoe." The brother and his SiSo cut down the tree but did not hollow it out. They went back to the sea to their house. When they arrived at the seashore, they found the canoe already completed.

The brother said to his nephew, "Here is our canoe." The nephew said, "Oh, you are lying to me."

The brother said to the nephew, "This is a sign that if we are strong and work hard things will come easy for us. If we are lazy we will never find a thing." Then the

---

[11]This inconsistency is, perhaps, the informants' difficulty with the story, for this mating with a lineage sister today is repugnant. As the reader will note in the second version of the malauwi story the brother and sister marriage is once again brought up. Brother-sister unions are common for Trobriand myths. (Malinowski, 1922).

brother took the canoe and sold it and had a house filled with valuables, food, and everything.

If you look at the inside of the malauwi tree, you will find the blood from the woman who gave birth to it. They gave the woman's name to the canoe. They called it Bebeta.

The other myth links the origin of the malauwi tree with the first people on Panaeeti:

Two brothers and their sister left their village, called Awikowa, on the North Coast of Misima Island. They went to Ebora village. One of the brothers was married to the sister and the other one was not. The brother that was not married was called Taugulipokapoka. The sister was called Lilibaku.

The married brother was to have a small canoe carved by one of the Ebora people. Canoes in those days were not for sailing and were small. They were called eman. The married brother suspected someone of sleeping with his wife. He went about the village of Ebora looking at the people's carving patterns. He found his brother carving a wooden bowl with the same pattern that he noticed on his wife's thigh.

He planned with the Ebora people to kill his brother for sleeping with his sister. When all the people were out looking for the adulterous brother, he tricked the rest of the people and told his sister to get her things and go down

to the canoe and wait for him. He told his sister that she should take a seed from the malauwi tree and that she should take their sleeping mats. The adulterous brother tricked all the people. They were looking for him up in the hills. He went down to the canoe and slipped away with his sister. They set off rowing for Panaeati. They landed at the place on the north coast of Panaeati called Nawaliak. They planted the seed in the interior of the island at a place called Sigasiga.

The brother Taugulipokapoka and the sister Lilibaku were the first people on Panaeati. They had two children, Boumagini and Yelabada.

This story traces the origin of the Panaeati people and combines it with the origin of the malauwi trees on Panaeati. It lacks the element of the birth of the seed from the Panaeati woman that the first story stressed. It also names Misima as the tree's origin. Each of the myths came from a different informant.

The first myth brings out the trees' manlike quality. This quality interests people most. Because it grows only from a seed and no secondary growth appears on a fallen malauwi tree it has a single life. Like a man, they say, when a tree is dead, "it is finished" (iaka i moasi). The rich red interior of the tree reinforces an anthropomorphic view. A tree bleeds when it is cut.

The utility of the canoe in Panaeati life is also brought out in the first myth. Canoes have always been instruments for gaining material wealth. And it is impossible to build a canoe without expending energy.

The positive value placed on work and industry and the aversion for laziness have been noted throughout our examination of Panaeati life. "Work" (tualali) leads to material reward and a good reputation, one's big name. Laziness brings nothing.

The second myth hints at some problems in the real world. The island of Misima is known as the original home for all of the peoples of the Calvados Chain and the people of Panaeati and Pana Pom Pom. Panaeati people trace their clan origins to different villages on Misima Island. On the north coast of Misima there is a break in the rugged shore line forming a magnificent cove. Some people trace the origins of the malauwi tree to this area. They say that Misimans were the original argonauts of the entire Southern Massim area. This is denied by some people on Panaeati. But everyone agrees that during the early times Misimans made sailing canoes from malauwi trees.

There are malauwi-like trees in the area surrounding this magnffi-cent cove that botanists classify in the same family as Panaeati's malauwi. One of these Callophyllum varieties is called patiyan. It is also found on Murua (Woodlark Island), another canoe making island. The contemporary Woodlark sailing canoe is very similar to the "traditional" Panaeati waga hot canoe. People from Woodlark and from Misima whom I questioned gave precedence to the Misiman canoe. According to these people's history, the original canoe making area for the entire Southern Massim is the north coast of Misima Island. The wood source "left" Misima and went to Panaeati and to Murua (Woodlark Island). Canoe mak-ing remains an important aspect of contemporary economic activities only on Panaeati, since Murua Islanders have discontinued making canoes on a large scale.

In the first section, I reviewed the historical situation. It was noted that warfare prohibited free movement throughout the Louisiade Archipelago. Owning a canoe was a strategic advantage to raiding efforst. The smaller islands surrounding the two large islands in the region (Misima and Sudest) -- kept pressure on the large islands. Night raids were common. The larger islands were vulnerable to their aggressive and mobile neighbors. There was good reason, then, for all people throughout the region to desire sailing canoes.

During the fighting times (Time of Darkness), Panaeati did not exclusively control the canoe manufacturing for the region. Some canoes were produced on Misima as well as on other islands. There are varieties of Callophyllum scattered throughout the region, and while they are not malauwi trees, they are adequate. Panaeati Island and Brooker Island (Utian Island) were the homes of the predominant sailing peoples during the warring times. Brooker people had a reputation as the most aggressive fighters in the area. They dominated the rest of the islands. But they kept peace with Panaeati. These two sailing peoples have a long history of intermarriage, cooperation, and trading. This relationship existed during the warring period and has continued.

Brooker sailors went farther than any other islanders in the region, after pacification. They received canoes not only from Panaeati but also from the islands in the east. These canoes came originally from Murua, and Brooker people purchased them from their contacts in the Engineer Group and with Wari Island. In the past, Brooker people were allowed to take malauwi timber from Panaeati to Brooker, where they completed the canoes themselves. From their convenient position in the

middle of the Calvados Chain, Brooker people sailed west as far as the mainland of New Guinea and east all the way down to Sudest. Their reputation for daring exploits and for raiding on Sudest is part of the early Papuan historical record. They continued this ambitious but peaceful sailing after pacification.

The Brooker Islanders' adventurousness led eventually to a change in the canoe complex for the entire region. Around the turn of the century, these islanders, along with other Melanesians, were a labor resource for the Queensland sugar cane planters. One Brooker man returned safely from Queensland with an idea for a change in his people's sailing canoes.

The man's name was Doho. He returned from Townsville sometime during the first decade of this century. He had noticed there the advantages that the Australian craft seemed to have over the "traditional" waga hot. According to informants, Doho was most impressed by the rigging of the Australian craft. The waga hot possessed an oval sail made from pandanus leaves. It had a complicated rigging that required four men to change direction. Doho noticed other improvements over the traditional canoe. Canvas was superior in every way to pandanus. He noticed that there were a variety of sail shapes and returned to Brooker with the notion that a triangular sail was superior to the oval one. Finally, he also noted that if one placed the mast closer to the center of the hull (and adopted a simpler rigging) the tacking advantages were considerable.

Doho and his son fashioned a canoe from timber taken from a small island near Brooker, called Pana Wedi Wedi. They purchased canvas material from a trader on Nivani. They cut the sail into a triangular

shape and tried it out. As it was told to me, the first experiment was not entirely successful because of the triangle-shaped sail. The tacking advantages were cancelled by the sail shape. It did not have a surface area large enough to capture sufficient wind. The canoe was not fast enough. Doho wanted both speed and maneuverability.

Doho and his son experimented with sail shapes and hit upon a four sided canvas sail that had a large surface area. The Brooker people and the people from the rest of the region relied for the most part on Panaeati's canoes during these years. The new canoe style was an experiment and the idea did not "explode" throughout the region. The traditional waga hot canoe with its pandanus sail and complicated rigging remained the dominant sailing craft for years.

These were the early years of mission and government pacification. Panaeati people were freely sailing the island chain. Panaeati canoes were being sold to people as far east as Sudest and as far west as the Engineer Group. Panaeati people and the entire region were profiting from the open inter-island communication brought about by pacification.

The memorial occasions described in the previous section were more elaborately presented in the new mission atmosphere. People on Panaeati had more opportunities to get pigs and valuables for their canoes. Pigs and valuables (along with food and betel) were essential for these memorial occasions. Panaeati people were able to "do their work" (tualali) with optimum opportunity for industrious individuals to succeed. The measurement of success (as we pointed out in the previous section) for a woman was gaining the right to garden land granted to her by her husband's lineage. For a man, the ultimate "political" success was

financing a Soi memorial occasion for his father so that he could return and live on his father's residence site.

"Success" for the Panaeati people has always been measured by achievements inside Panaeati. Trading canoes and pots to other islands had real utility back on Panaeati. Panaeati people were not willing to give up their good position as canoe makers for the region. It is not surprising, then, that after a time the people of Panaeati stopped Brooker people from taking malauwi timber from Panaeati. Brooker craftsmen were making this new variety of canoe, called sailau, with Panaeati timber and selling it to other islands.[12] They were infringing on Panaeati's economic position and were taking valuables and pigs that were rightfully Panaeati's.

The adventurous and industrious Brooker people were sailing three types of canoes during the years before World War II. They were sailing canoes purchased from Panaeati. They had their new sailau canoes, and they had some Muruan canoes. Brooker people's sailing exploits were inspired by the necessity to supplement their diet with resources from neighboring islands. Brooker sailors look for food, betel, and sago with an intensity unequalled in the region.

Brooker people needed a faster, better sailing craft in order more efficiently to import necessary items. Panaeati, on the other hand, had a traditional investment in their waga hot canoes. The sailau canoe's

---

[12] I could never establish the meaning of this term in the Misiman language. I am inclined to agree with a suggestion made by Professor William Davenport that sailau could be taken from the English cry "sale ho!". The traditional canoe is also known as gowa. This refers directly to the pandanus sail material.

speed on the open sea and its fast manufacture were not needed on Panaeati. Indeed, the people of Panaeati desired just the opposite. The longer it takes to build a canoe, the more time a Panaeati builder has to squeeze advances from a buyer. Once the canoe is paid for and "working for someone else," it has lost its utility to a Panaeati builder.

Thus, Brooker's innovative tendencies and Panaeati's conservatism can be explained by the different interests of the two islands' peoples. Brooker wanted a speedy sailing craft and the sailau met this want. It took years for Panaeati people to find something of value for themselves in this new craft. To Panaeati people the sailau seemed unfit for the open sea. It was indeed fast. But it held less cargo and was easily capsized. The sailau was more dangerous than the traditional waga hot.

The sailau's advantages were impressed on the people of Panaeati in 1935. In that year a Brooker man asked his friend on Panaeati to build a sailau canoe. The Brooker man had promised one to a man from Motorina. Until this time, no one had built one of these new craft on Panaeati. The Panaeati man, named Hilolil, built the new craft with the help of his Brooker friends. He finished the canoe and was supposed to deliver it to the Brooker man and the Motorina man, who were at a feast on Motorina.

As the story was told to me, a great many canoes from Panaeati left for Motorina at the same time. All of the traditional canoes from Panaeati left together and spent the first night at Lal Island. Hilolil and his crew left later the same day. He landed at Lal Island around the same time as the Panaeati canoes. The next morning all of the Panaeati canoes except the sailau left for Motorina together. The sailau

left sometime later in the morning. It overtook all the traditional canoes and landed at Motorina first; then returned to the group of traditional canoes and circled them. It overtook them once again before going on to Motorina.

This display of speed and tacking ease impressed the conservative Panaeati sailors. Watching a sailau canoe handled by Brooker sailors was not the same as seeing it handled by one of their own people. Moreover, this canoe was made in front of everyone on Panaeati, and was built according to traditional labor host requirements. Brooker's sailau canoes had seemed strange and foreign. This demonstration now shifted the Panaeati people's perspective. The traditional waga hot was now seen differently. The sailau became a genuine alternative to the traditional canoe.

After the demonstration of the sailau's sailing ability, informants state that there were three more waga hot completed on Panaeati. In the same year of the Motorina demonstration, another Panaeati man made a sailau called Dinar. After Dinar, another man made a sailau and called New Year. Both these builders came from the same village on Panaeati. The three men who completed the traditional canoes noted above were also from the same village. This was a period of experimentation on Panaeati.

During the 1930's and the 1940's, some Panaeati people were making sailau canoes. Others were making waga hot canoes, and some were making a transitional canoe. This transitional form was exactly like a waga hot except that the sail and rigging were like those of a sailau. Some people preferred the advantages of the traditional canoe and only wanted the tacking ease of the new sailau. Panaeati builders were making

canoes to order during these transitional years. They were also developing confidence in sailing the tricky and dangerous sailau. We now consider the advantages of the sailau over its predecessors in more detail.

The sailau has considerable advantage in tacking. The bow and stern are interchangeable. The mast is centered. Because of the simpler rigging, changing direction requires only one man's quick work. The canvas sail is turned 180 degrees by one man. He thrusts out the boom and twists the rigging by walking it around the other side of the mast. The steersman goes to the opposite end of the craft to take his new steering position. "Tacking", called saga, is the major advantage to the performance of the sailau. The advantage of canvas is also significant. The durability of the canvas sail was recognized as an important improvement over pandanus material, called gowa.

The typical waga hot was large. In both length and depth, the waga hot were larger than the sailau. Smaller canoes were made during the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's -- the peak years of inter-island sailing. There was now a variety of reasons for sailing. People were making more short-term trips. The contemporary sailau fit this trend toward short trips very well.

The smaller sailau made it easier for the steersman to hold a course. The waga hot often required two men to do this. One man sat at the bow holding the large steering paddle and lifting it up and down according to the direction desired. Another man was needed to sit on the outrigger platform with a second paddle thrust down through a hole in the platform. This second paddle held the course steady (like a

center board) while the first man made directional decisions. The "endboards" (tumitumi) of the traditional waga hot added to the steering difficulties. The endboard's two lobes were unequal in size, making it hard to hold the steering paddle. A steersman had to lean out and stretch his arm over the larger lobe. This was a tedious job and required considerable strength. Only mature, strong men could sail a waga hot. In comparison, a second man to hold the course in a sailau is required only in the most difficult wind situations.

The endboards of the sailau are smaller and represent a change in design from the waga hot, as noted above. Informants state that the contemporary sailau endboard design was borrowed from the Woodlark canoe design. While the Woodlark canoe is identical to the waga hot, their endboard design is different. While the waga hot endboards were unequal in size, the Murua endboard lobes were of equal size. The man steering has an easy job which requires him only to hold the paddle in the water.

Young boys today have no difficulty holding a course in a sailau if the weather is not too windy. Under a strong wind, the light weight and the small size of the sailau is a disadvantage. The canoe is easily tipped. No one desires to be caught in bad weather under any circumstances in any craft. But most people agree that the stability of the large waga hot was some insurance under inclement conditions. Under the usual sailing conditions, however, the sailau is much less work than the traditional craft. Once the skills to sail this light and vulnerable canoe were learned and confidence was gained, the advantages of speed outweighed its vulnerability.

The sailau does not have an upright "bow-piece" like the waga hot (Haddon and Hornell, 1937). The "bow-piece," called tabura, was elabo-

rately carved as was the keel. The waga hot also had several decorative "bird-shaped carvings," called sial, which were set on the "bow-piece" and stuck out from the outrigger platform. Carving was done by a few specialists. Paying these men was a significant investment for a builder. Today's sailau also has carvings on the keel and on the two end-boards. Carving is still done by specialists today, but these men have a smaller part in the manufacture than their predecessors.

The sailau outrigger float and platform is like that of the waga hot. The preferred timber for a float comes from the large islands of Fergusson and Normanby. It often happens that log of this kind finds its way eastward to the Louisiade area, floating with the wind, and is ultimately found by a lucky Panaeati canoe builder. Some Panaeati men have gone to cut a float as the purpose of a sailing trip to the Western islands. They shape the float first and drag it behind their canoe on their return trip.

The basic principles involved in sailing a single outrigger canoe are the same for both the waga hot and the contemporary sailau. Keeping a float riding on top of the water by adjusting the amount of wind caught by the sail is critical for successfully sailing. The sailau steersman, however, can control the "mainsheet" (alit) and the steering paddle at the same time when the wind is not too strong. This was extremely difficult for a single man to do on a waga hot.

While the form of the craft has changed, the sailau holds the same position in contemporary Panaeati life that the waga hot held during earlier times. Like the waga hot, sailau canoes are made today according to a set plan of ordered labor operations. No builder contemplates

calling his fellows for one of these labor operations unless he has the goods to feed them. This is just as true today as it was during the earlier waga hot times. The planning skills involved in financing the manufacture of a sailau are not radically different from those of waga hot times.

The sailau "complex" -- the reasons for building canoes, the building process, the presentation of a canoe, and the benefits from owning a completed canoe -- is very much the same as the waga hot complex. Panaeati people have always referred to canoe manufacturing and canoe presentations as "canoe work" (waga ana tualali). Men who successfully financed the manufacture and then received a large amount of material items for the canoe were traditionally respected for their industry and generosity. This is still the case today. The function of the canoe complex in Panaeati social life has remained the same. Since pacification, canoes represent the best store of wealth that a man can own. Presenting a completed canoe is the surest means of obtaining needed material items. Pigs, valuables, cash, and foods are received in exchange for a completed canoe. These items can be used to finance important memorial activities on Panaeati. Canoes still are an extremely valuable and convertible item.

Why did Misima fail to take advantage of the new possibilities of the sailau? If they did make some waga hot in earlier times, why did they not make the transition to the new canoe? Also, why are there so few Panaeati canoes on Misima today? During the first years of Mission influence, Misimans purchased canoes from Panaeati and continued making a few canoes on their own. Misima, like Panaeati, prospered early from

the freer sailing atmosphere. After World War II, the Administration increased its activities through the development of the Local Council System. This Administration was centered on Misima, and the Misimans felt the difference. The Administration stressed domestic activities rather than inter-island sailing. Panaeati was under less early Administrative pressure than Misima during the 1940's and early 1950's.

Misiman people today who lived through the transition period from the waga hot to the sailau state that the sailing difficulties of the new craft also contributed to the decline of Misiman sailing. They say the instability of the sailau and the danger involved in sailing this craft is so great that the older Misimans do not care for sailing anymore. Misiman informants also mentioned that the sailau involved carpentry skills with which they were unfamiliar. Like the Panaeati builders in the first three decades of the century, Misimans were conservative.

But the fundamental point is that Misimans were slowly discouraged from traditional active inter-island trading. The increase in Misiman sailing that resulted from the early missionization and freedom began contracting after World War II. Misimans state that they were discouraged from raising pigs. Misima's trading position in the region dropped. This drop in trading is indicated by the fact that today there are only nine Panaeati sailau canoes on Misima. Misima's population is over 6,000 people. Sudest Island has a population of less than 4,000 people and has over 25 Panaeati canoes today. Sudest and the neighboring eastern Calvados Chain peoples hardly felt the Administration's influence even after World War II. These peoples' traditional enterprises continued to thrive.

The market for trading canoes and pottery for wealth items, pigs, food, and sago shifted away from Misima eastward during the 1940's and 1950's. Sudest peoples and Calvados Chain peoples from Motorina Island eastward became more and more active sources for borrowing. Panaeati people and Brooker people visited these eastern peoples in order to take advantage of the rich resources that were offered them. Brooker carried out a middleman trade, shuttling Panaeati built canoes to their eastern neighbors. Contemporary canoe census figures are listed in the appendix as well as trading rates for a variety of items.

Sudest, Pana Tinani, and Motorina Islands are rich sources of sago, food, and pigs. These islanders gave Brooker and Panaeati sailors healthy exchanges for pottery. They also were good sources for traditional wealth items. Because they were out of the Administration's main focus (for lack of personnel), these islanders carried on the expanded political hosting, introduced through pacification, at a high level, which they maintain even today. Grass Island people, for example, sail and celebrate for long periods of time today. These people and Sudest islanders engage in pig husbandry to a degree that surpasses Misima. As a result of their concentration on pig husbandry and traditional pursuits, these eastern people are excellent trade friends. Travelling eastward from Panaeati towards Sudest is like travelling back through the last fifty years of history.

We conclude this section with an example of how one Panaeati party traded a canoe to a man in the eastern end of the Louisiade Archipelago living on Sudest Island. This transaction took place in 1947. I visited the Sudest buyer in 1971 in the village of Nain Hil. This case illustration is a good introduction to Panaeati canoe trading. In

Chapter V other examples of canoe transactions will be discussed.

Daumali's Canoe

During the war years, Panaeati's adult men, along with the men from the rest of the region, were recruited to serve as laborers in Milne Bay. A Sudest man named Daumali and a Panaeati man named Senibalo II met and became friends while they both worked. The Sudest man asked the Panaeati man for a canoe when the war was over and they both returned to their islands. Senibalo II went back to Panaeati after the war and talked to his father, Senibalo I, about the proposed canoe. They talked to Daumali about the canoe and it was decided that the canvas sail and new rigging should be used on a traditional body.

On their first trip to Sudest, the Panaeati people obtained a down payment for the canoe. Daumali gave them a fine bagi. Some months later, Senibalo II made a second trip to Sudest. This time he returned from Sudest with a large pig, some sago, and betelnut. Senibalo II told Daumali that the canoe was almost ready for delivery, but the pigs were needed for an important labor operation before the canoe could be delivered. The next time the Panaeati people would return to Sudest, they would bring the new canoe and leave it. There was a third trip to Sudest some months later. Daumali this time gave a sizeable presentation, consisting of sago food and 2 more pigs, to the Panaeati people. They left the canoe on Sudest.

After one year, the Panaeati people received a message (by word of mouth) that they should return to Sudest again for another presentation of items for the canoe. They went to Sudest and decorated the endboards of the canoe that had already been delivered the previous year. This decoration is called abab. Senibalo I made a public challenge telling Daumali that his reputation was at stake.

Daumali was ready for the vevegali challenge. He had secured a large amount of goods for the occasion. His family and his friends had come to help him present items for the canoe. While he was not alone, the brunt of responsibility for the success of the presentation was his. Daumali was then (and still is today) an important man on Sudest. He offered an extraordinary amount of goods to satisfy the Panaeati people.

He presented the following items: 9 pigs, 20 "axe blades" (giam), 3 bagi, 4 baskets of yams, 200 bundles of sago, and an assortment of small trade store items (i.e., calico, utensils, plates, etc.). Including the three down payment pigs, Daumali gave a total of 12 pigs. Six pigs were Daumali's own contribution. Three other pigs were brought by his SiSo. Three pigs came from his friends and one came from his wife. Two out of the three bagi were Daumali's own contribution and one came from his SiSoWi's family.

After setting out these goods in front of the Panaeati

people Senibalo I made another vevegali announcement declaring his satisfaction with the display. The next day the Panaeati people sailed home with their goods. A friendship between the two parties had begun well.

This case history of a canoe transaction brings out some interesting points about canoe economics. First, it should be noted that Daumali had a choice about the kind of canoe he wanted. This gives us some idea about the transitional period between waga hot manufacture and contemporary sailau manufacture on Panaeati. Daumali wanted the advantages of both craft. He wanted the size and the traditional carving of waga hot. He also wanted the speed and tacking provided by a sailau rigging. He was able to take advantage of the conservative Panaeati craftsmen and get their best effort. Neither party in the canoe transaction was in a hurry.

The length of time that it takes to manufacture and present a canoe is long and drawn out. The amounts and the kind of items given for the canoe are planned with extreme care and patience. The Panaeati builder usually holds the upper hand. Once a builder promises a canoe to a friend, the "fish has been hooked." A builder then plays his fish as long as possible. He has all the time in the world to complete the canoe. A buyer can only wait for a builder to appear. Builders dictate the terms to their friends in a subtle and respectful manner.

There are a variety of types of canoe transactions. Some of these are in-law transactions. Here the builder's position is reversed. Even in these "family affairs" the recipients of the canoe (i.e., wife's family) are under pressure to pay well for the canoe.

The Panaeati people's reputation is centered around their canoe complex. They are known for their craftsmanship and for their sailing ability. They are also known for being tricky about promises. Building a canoe is as much an economic venture on Panaeati as it is an exercise in carpentry. They have inflated canoe economics to a degree that impresses even the Woodlark (Murua Island) canoe people. Panaeati's neighbors in the Misima Sub-district have gone along with the hard terms, the long waiting, and the tricks. They have become used to it. They have little choice. One man from Nimoa Island, far to the east of Panaeati, explained the situation to me this way: "We don't know (the canoe) work; so we have to be patient."

Chapter V goes into contemporary Panaeati canoe economics in detail. The next section continues our historical survey by examining Panaeati people's activities since the 1950's, when the Administration tightened its influence on Panaeati life.

II - E

The Time of Light

(3) The Council Period

Papua New Guinea today is on the verge of self-government. Panaeati people do not understand the full meaning of this change. While they do not grasp the worldwide context that their new country will enter, they do understand that for some people this change is important. They were relieved to know that their life style on Panaeati will not alter dramatically despite changes that have occurred in Bwagaoia, Misima, in Alotau, and in Port Moresby. They were afraid that all the Europeans would leave and a repeat of the World War II situation would occur. They specifically wanted the trade stores to stay in the area.

Shortly after the end of World War II, two things happened that considerably changed Panaeati's way of life. First, the headquarters of the Methodist Mission for the Misima Sub-district shifted from Panaeati to Bwagaoia, Misima. This was a natural step for the mission to take. Misima became the Administration headquarters before the war. The mission could take advantage of Misima's better shipping facilities and, later, its airstrip. Panaeati people were unhappy with the change. They enjoyed their focal position and did not like the idea of becoming an outpost island. The second important change was made by the Australian Administration. It established a new system of Local Government Councils. They replaced the village "policemen" with an entirely new system of local government decision-making. The Louisiade Local

Government Council was formed in 1952. Since that time, the dominant influence in this island region has shifted from the mission to the Council.

The Louisiade Local Council appointed two councilors for the Duboyne Islands (i.e., Panaeati and Pana Pom Pom). One councilor is for the Pana Pom Pom people and for the eastern end of the island of Panaeati. The other councilor is responsible for the western end of the island. Pana Pom Pom and Panaeati together have a population of well over 1000 people. Besides the Duboyne Islands, the council is divided into the following census zones: Misima, Calvados Chain, Sudest, and Rossel. From these areas, 27 councilors come to Misima Island about once every six to eight weeks for meetings. Islanders in the Louisiade Archipelago form the Misima Sub-district of the Milne Bay District, Papua New Guinea.

Panaeati's two councilors are elected by the people from each end of the island. As noted earlier, all of the houses and the public buildings are in a line on the windward shore facing the Duboyne Lagoon. Today, there are almost no spaces between the clusters of houses. Population growth has filled the open spaces with houses. There is a well-maintained path stretching from one end of the island to the other. In the early days of the mission, people were encouraged to widen the path so that even a European could walk easily. Europeans are called by a traditional term for "white ghost-like beings" -- dimdim. This is a term commonly used throughout Milne Bay. People mean nothing derogatory by the term. It has an irritating ring to western ears, however.

People today walk from one end of the island to the other shouting

greetings to their friends and relatives on the way. People are quizzed about where they have been, where they are going, and what they will do when they get there. All adults are prohibited from walking through a residence area that fronts an in-law's grave. They are supposed to walk well around the restricted residence areas by going down to the beach before coming back to the path. The east residence division of the island is called Bwaganati. The far west end of the island is called Bahunapai. These divisions correspond roughly with the two councilors' areas. There is also a middle division called Paluwaluwala. These divisions are convenient, general reference points. In the past, the hamlets within each division (or end) did occasionally group together for fighting and/or celebrations. Today, the division names are used in contemporary work assignments when the entire island is working on a single project. I will return to this shortly.

The councilors attend meetings at Misima and host visiting dignitaries from the government. Council meetings are important, and councilors take their work very seriously. The meetings take from two to four days. Councilors are picked up at their islands by the council-owned trawler. When the meetings are finished, they are returned home. The councilors are given a salary for their service. This usually is used to buy food at the trade stores in Bwagaoia while they are away from home. The meetings are long and often concern complicated budget matters for the Sub-district. The meetings are conducted in the Misiman language. The council's advisors as well as some of the Rossel councilors are not fluent in Misiman. Police Motu is sometimes used to translate for the people who do not understand Misiman.

The councilors are supposed to report a meeting's business to their electorates. Panaeati's councilors did this responsibly during my stay. Beyond this, however, the councilors do not have a great deal to do back at their homes.

On each island, the most visible people are the ward "committeemen," called komiti.[13] Each of Panaeati's six census wards is represented by a committeeman and also by a committeewoman. They are given a government badge. They are perhaps closer to traditional Papuan Policemen than the councilors. They operate along with the councilors as the government's presence on the island. But they have much more to do than the councilors. Wards are small groups of hamlets. However, some hamlets are grouped together for census balance so the results do not always match the traditional hamlet alignments. The ward divisions are natural geographic and census divisions, however. I never heard objections to census ward divisions.

Panaeati's councilors and committeemen meet together for weekly planning sessions. The meetings are held in one of the committeemen's houses or in a councilor's house. It is important that the host for the night provide at least a good supply of betel for his guests. The purpose of the meetings is to plan out a week's schedule. They are very serious affairs. Running the business of an entire island is not taken lightly.

The meetings that I witnessed always opened with someone leading a

---

[13] Councilors and committeemen are not real big men or guiau. These contemporary leaders are what Richard Salisbury has called "executives". They are lower level important people who are not above the system (cf. Salisbury, 1964, vol. 66:236-39).

prayer. After the prayer, one of the councilors states the meeting's agenda. He asks for "old business" (bisnis hohowena). Then, he proceeds to the "new business" of the evening (bisnis vaveluna). Each ward committeeman has an opportunity to report anything on his mind. Besides the six ward committeemen, there are committeemen for agriculture, health, and education. Each of these men is only active at certain times. They are responsible for maintaining the island's public institutions. Panaeati has a Primary "T" School and a health clinic. The committeemen for these services are supposed to help the salaried personnel. All people prepare for Administration patrols that come to Panaeati. Much of the meeting recorded below concentrated on a coming visit by an agriculture officer. This illustration is from a meeting that I attended on March 5, 1971:

> David (the councilor) opened the meeting with a prayer. He said that the two weeks given for the agriculture work had not proved to be sufficient to get the job done. The Council had voted that all the people had to fence in their pigs. This was not well received on Panaeati. They did not feel they could fence the pigs in an area where they could be well-watered. Some people had done their fencing and some people were lagging behind. There was also a project to clear bush areas for coconut planting. The agriculture officer was coming to Panaeati soon to examine the clearing job. People were not maintaining their coconuts properly. The officer was going to check up on them. The committeeman from Miteli and Nulia hamlets said his area was behind because most of the men were making copra on the

small island of Tinolan. He asked what can be done about people who go out working for cash. The councilor did not say they could really do anything about this fact. Some people had been away for two months on small islands. A hand vote was called. People decided to add another week to concentrate on agricultural affairs.

David next mentioned that the critical "new business" was to discuss how Panaeati could host the semi-annual Sub-district agricultural meeting taking place in June. Panaeati would have to repair its clubhouse for the meeting. They decided that it was better to build a new clubhouse for the meeting. The old one would never look good enough for this major affair. They noted that one full week's work could finish the job. They would have to work all five work days, however, on this single project. They noted that when they built a teacher's house, this schedule worked out well.

David then turned to the committeewomen who were at the meeting. He said that the men's part of the preparations for the agricultural meeting was finished. He said that this meeting will show off the women. They should get all of their "craft" items (baskets, pots, mats) ready ahead of time. They would be able to sell these items at the meetings.

There was now a time for general discussion. Someone complained about the medical orderly on Panaeati. He said this man was not giving enough shots (a common complaint in the

area). Another man noted that he had talked to the medical officer at Bwagaoia, and the officer told him that this man was capable. The matter was dropped. Someone then suggested that one of the two medical committeemen was not doing his job. The man was neglecting his part of the island. He was supposed to make occasional visits noting sick people who were not receiving attention and then notify the medical orderly. It was decided that this man was a little too old for the job. That was why he did not make the long walks. A younger person should be found to take this man's place.

Panaeati is a very good example of a smoothly working local government system. They contend that their mission experience helped them prepare for this period with two outstanding characteristics -- democratic decision-making and scheduling. Since the mission's landing on Panaeati in 1891, a series of British and Australian personnel lived on Panaeati.[14] The mission people encouraged public assemblies for a variety of purposes other than mission services. Accordingly, "meetings" (mitin) have become an important part of Panaeati social life. Along with meetings, people today are used to congregating for civic celebrations. Most of these involve eating together. People from all parts of the island enjoy coming together for public assemblies. Most meetings are either planning or reporting sessions. Meetings usually do not include eating.

People enjoy meetings just the same, however. They enjoy relaxing

---

[14]During my stay on Panaeati, a Dobuan minister and a Misiman missionary were working on Panaeati.

together. Meetings provide an opportunity for talented orators. Speaking is a traditional talent. It was part of the "big men's" (guiau) vain exhibitions. Panaeati people have taken this aspect of traditional behavior and combined it with the mission's stress on sermonizing and preaching. This also works for the government's business. Councilors or committee personnel preach to the people about the virtues of planning, or the importance of selling their coconuts to the local cooperative society. They also preach to the people about finding their tax money and about finding their annual mission contributions.

Besides weekly planning meetings, noted above, each ward committeeman assembles his people for daily planning sessions. The committeemen ring a bell (e.g., blow a conch shell, or strike a piece of iron) in front of their houses each morning Monday through Friday. The purpose of these sessions is to plan the ward's daily work schedule. Panaeati daily life is extremely well scheduled.

Panaeati is scheduled on a five-day work week, a fishing day on Saturday, and a restful Sunday Sabbath. All work is prohibited on Sunday. This includes fishing. People say that doing work on the Sabbath is wrong. They do know, however, that the Catholics are a bit more lenient about this. They learned from their Catholic friends in the Sudest and the eastern end of the Calvados Chain that fishing is allowed on Sunday.[15] Sundays are strictly for light visiting, worship, and choir singing in the evenings. Saturdays are always devoted to fishing

---

[15]The Catholic mission was just beginning their work on Misima in 1971. The local council was considering the extent to which they should allow Catholic entry into Misima.

and securing enough food from the gardens for the Sabbath. Bad luck on Saturday means there is almost no fish eaten for the entire week. This is usually the situation except during peak fishing times. People's fishing is restricted today since fishing is time-consuming, It does not fit the contemporary ordered scheme.

The Panaeati people have incorporated their gardening and canoe building routines into the new scheduling scheme. Public works and traditional Panaeati activities are combined into a five-day work week. Mondays are usually free for people's independent activities. Gardening goes on in much the same way as it has since the mission period began. The cooperative secretary dispatches copra work on Tuesday. The extent of the work dictates how many people each ward committeeman sends to help the cooperative store secretary.[16] The people who do not help the cooperative are usually free to work on Tuesday. Wednesdays are mission activities. Work on this day includes maintaining the mission's garden, its school grounds, or maintaining the missionaries' houses. The entire population is responsible for the mission's coconut plantation. Taking care of the missionaries is a traditional Panaeati sentiment. They pride themselves on this fact. Thursdays are usually free unless there is a special activity that needs preparation. Fridays are busy. They are devoted to government public works.

On Fridays there is very little free time. The councilors and the committeemen decide in their weekly meetings what it is important to

---

[16] The Panaeati Cooperative Society was having the same problems accumulating capital and stocking their stores as most of the Milne Bay District stores. People were selling their coconuts to other trade stores that had better stocked shelves.

accomplish. They receive suggestions from the salaried government personnel working on the island. These people (i.e., teachers and the medical orderly) inform a committeeman in their areas when a task needs to be done. Sometimes a school teacher or a health officer goes to a weekly meeting.

Fridays also involve cleaning the path in front of each ward's residence area. This is usually women's work. The school grounds are kept up by the Panaeati people. People are also responsible for building some of the teachers' houses. People do these jobs willingly when told to do so, however they do not look for extra work. They are often reprimanded by the salaried people for not doing these jobs more quickly. Perhaps people would do them more quickly if they were fed. People readily work when they are assured of food for their services. Unfortunately, they are never fed for the public jobs. It seems natural that a food allotment allowance for public work projects would decrease people's procrastination.

While people fit gardening and canoe making into a public scheduling pattern, these activities are still each household's primary responsibilities. The committee system is an efficient alternative manner to recruit laborers for these projects. When a person secures food and other items to finance a labor operation, he asks his ward's committeeman to announce this to his neighbors in the morning meetings. A committeeman does not order people to work. He makes suggestions. Most ward people already know when a neighbor is preparing for a major labor session (i.e., canoe or house building or garden work). Some people have traditional obligations to join the work. These people (i.e., a

host's in-laws, his relatives, and his friends) work regardless of a committeeman's suggestion. A committeeman's announcement opens recruitment to anyone else who wants to exchange a day's work for food and tobacco.

The following discussion is taken from a morning planning session that I attended in my ward area. The meeting was held on February 24, 1971. This is a good example of how meetings also serve as a ventilating device. In this case a sorcery incident is brought into the open.

> The committeeman, Kala, stood by his house and began to speak when he saw that all the people had assembled. People sat in groups. Some were facing Kala and some were facing each other. Men sat apart from women. Some people sat far away from Kala. The lucky ones could sit inside their own doorways.
>
> Kala said that today's work involved clearing the Mission's coconut plantation. The councilor made an appearance then. This is rarely done. He noted the following, "One of our friends is ill from sorcery." He went on to say that people should not do this anymore. It was wrong to always be afraid. "We stopped this kind of thing a long time ago. People should be happy now."
>
> Kala stood up and repeated the same remarks to the people. He said that when "you see a man and a woman talking on the road, don't assume the worst right away. It is wrong to gossip about things that you don't know about. Olal (sorcery) is something bad and it is finished. We closed it a long time ago."

> Kala went on to say that people should not just try out their sorcery. It is a dangerous thing to do. He said, "If one of you did this to our sick friend, then it is best that you make him better and close this sorcery off. This is not Jesus' way. We should all live happy lives." He concluded in a softer voice and said, "You had better be sure of what you are doing. Don't just try sorcery out."

I attended meetings where people discussed sorcery, adultery, the evils of gossip and swearing. On these occasions, speakers preach to their neighbors in the same way that they do on Sundays. People are encouraged to look for open verbal testimonials. They do not enjoy covert gossip, and they do not like sorcery's fears. They are proud of their high moral standards. But "sorcery" (olal) is still in the air.

During my entire eighteen months on Panaeati, I heard of one short fight. This was between two young men and involved an allegation of adultery. Adultery is still the main reason for real anger. Women fight much more than men today. I saw a few of these quick skirmishes between young women. I heard about other fights that took place in the garden areas. The fights were always followed by hushed embarrassment on the part of the community. The committeemen try to negotiate with the two parties. Some adultery cases go to the Sub-district court at Misima. Committeemen are not allowed to "make court" locally. They can bring offenders into court, however. There was never need for policing on Panaeati during my stay. Life was peaceful and flowed evenly.

There are advantages from the contemporary scheduling pattern. People today are in good control of their gardens. As noted earlier,

it is occasionally necessary to have fast and efficient action in slash-and-burn agriculture. One reason for fast action was clarified for me in the following true example. There was a great deal of rain in the Milne Bay area during 1971. Unfortunately, the rain fell at the wrong time. It fell after the bush was cleared for the following year's gardens. People cleared the bush in September and then went away to Brooker Island for a Soi feast. They felt that the bush would dry during the two weeks that they were away from Panaeati. However, scattered rains during this waiting period extended the drying period well beyond the usual three or four weeks. Procrastination and bad luck caught the entire island behind in their burning and planting steps. It was early December before people began to buckle down.

The councilors and the committeemen organized a concentrated work effort. They started at one end of the island and worked to the other end. People worked six days a week for the entire month of December. Some people slept in the gardens to save time. The scheduling system allowed for the most efficient use of Panaeati's best qualities -- its labor size and labor cooperation. People worked for themselves and they also worked for others. It was not always possible to feed laborers during this emergency situation. There are real efficiency advantages from scheduling and management in the gardening sector of the Immediate Environment. This is especially true for Panaeati.

The people of Panaeati have always divided their labor along sex lines. Men are sea-oriented. Women garden and make pots. Men build canoes with food from their wives' gardens. Men sail and they engage in borrowing transactions for pigs and valuables. Women are responsible for monitoring their harvests. They decide how much food goes to con-

sumption and how much goes to extra-household activities (i.e., canoe building, memorial occasions, and special yam presentations). This labor division corresponds to a real division of interest. Men hate gardening chores and women do not like to sail. This division of interest has caught Panaeati people poorly prepared for gardening many times in the past, too.

People from other islands told me that Panaeati men always avoided the tedious gardening tasks (i.e., clearing the bush and tilling the ground). They would stay away from Panaeati, sailing around the region looking for pigs and wealth items. Avoiding their duties back home delayed planting in the past as the ill-timed rains delayed planting in 1971. This was especially the case during the mission period when inter-island sailing was pursued on a larger scale than it is today. In the mission period, men sailed off for one or two months leaving their wives to tend the gardens. The committee system of the present has tightened people's control over their gardening in comparison with the freedom during the mission period. It is difficult to know whether this tighter control ensures better efficiency than existed during the mission period.

Men are discouraged from taking long sailing trips today. Today, when a man wishes to sail to another island, he first tells the committeeman from his ward. The committeeman is also informed of the planned time of return. Committeemen do not give orders. They are well-respected, however, and their word is honored. It is their job to take care of the island's business. Activities such as house maintenance and gardening are encouraged. People are told to be conscientious about their coconut

plantations. They are encouraged to support the cooperative society by selling their coconuts to it. Panaeati today is more insular than it was in the mission period.

Panaeati's inter-island contact has contracted since the mission period, as scheduling and duties at home have reduced the time that people spend away from home. This pattern has existed since the middle 1950's, when the local government system became the dominant influence in the area. Panaeati people are conscious of this transition. Some older people complain about the new orientation. They say life is not quite as active as it was in the mission period. But it is too soon to assess the overall effect of the contemporary situation. Some remarks, however, can be made at this time.

Pottery making has declined on Panaeati. Very few Panaeati young women are making pots today. Brooker Island offers another good example for comparison. On Brooker, almost every woman (and girl) makes pottery. Brooker Islanders, as noted earlier, are more active traders than Panaeati people. In spite of the fact that Brooker has a shorter pottery tradition than Panaeati, it has almost completely taken over Panaeati's position as pottery exporter. The restrictions that have affected Panaeati sailing have not affected Brooker. Brooker people trade out of more severe need than Panaeati sailors. They require other islands' food. And they need to sustain an active pottery industry to offer the richer islanders something in return.

A point in Brooker's favor is that its clay is superior to the Panaeati clay. Panaeati women agree that this is so. Brooker pots last longer than Panaeati pots. In fact, Brooker people trade some pots to

Panaeati people, in return for which they receive food and betel. Panaeati's better ecological endowment and its compliance with the new local government orientation has decreased their hospitality trading. But Panaeati's pots were always "hospitality items." Panaeati pots were always given for betelnut, food, and sago, as forerunners to more serious transactions.

These serious transactions involved pigs, wealth items, cash, and foodstuffs in exchange for Panaeati canoes. Canoes are the most valuable convertible store of wealth that exists in the entire region. Panaeati's monopoly on canoe making secured them an extremely solid and lasting trading position. Panaeati people want to convert these wealth items into "political" memorial hosting occasions back on Panaeati. The demand for Panaeati canoes is still active despite the decline in their pottery exports. Panaeati men are still engaging in canoe transactions today.

It would be difficult to argue that contemporary local government scheduling has reduced Panaeati people's chances for political and economic achievement. People today are actively making canoes and presenting them just as they did in the past. This process is fully detailed in a later section. People are still obtaining the needed valuables and pigs that fuel their memorial occasions. Moreover, they are still receiving traditional rewards for their hosting activities. There has not been a radical change in Panaeati's standards since the beginning of the mission period. However, today, people are forced to make the most out of each sailing trip.

Sailing trips of today are carefully planned. People leave with

more specific ideas about what they want to achieve. Panaeati pots are made for specific reasons. Panaeati sailors usually try to complete their visit to other islands and return to Panaeati in a week, but this is often impossible because of bad weather and bad trading luck. Then again, pots are not always ready when people would like to leave. On Brooker, there is a stream of pots being made, loaded, and taken to other islands all the time. On Panaeati, it takes a little longer to find the pots.

Panaeati people's fishing activities have suffered from the tighter scheduling system. The Duboyne Lagoon is richly populated with fish. Besides the lagoon, there is successful fishing outside the reefs. Today, people fish only on Saturdays. There are times when they do take advantage of early morning mullet runs, however. And there is occasionally a free afternoon of which the men take advantage to fish. People sometimes fish at night. But the average household eats fish less than two times a week during most of the year. Saturday fishing is primarily encouraged for food for the Sabbath. Sometimes people have bad luck on Saturdays and do not bring anything home.

There were three large fishing nets on Panaeati during my stay. They were all owned by old men who lived in the western division of the island (Bahunapai). Only one young man was actively learning the technique of making a net. Unless people begin to buy nylon fishing nets, communal lagoon fishing has a poor future on Panaeati. There is some prestige in owning a net. It is possible that this could be an incentive to encourage someone to work for the money and purchase a net. People love to fish. They crave fish and prefer it to pork. However, it is

impossible to predict whether people would fish more if they had the chance. It seems unfortunate that they do not eat more fish.

In summary: The second half of the Time of Light -- The Council Period is characterized by a tighter control over people's activities. Scheduling and management have probably improved people's gardening, although it is difficult to say this with any certainty. But Panaeati people's capacity to deal with unexpected disasters from wild pigs, rains, and procrastinating has definitely improved. Health care and education are also benefits from the government period. People sail away from Panaeati for shorter periods of time than in the mission period. They plan their trading ventures more carefully. This strategy seems to be as lucrative in pigs, valuables, and cash as the longer trips of the mission period. Panaeati's hospitality trading in pots has declined, but this has not affected the canoe transactions. There is still a good demand for Panaeati canoes. Finally, scheduling had had, in my opinion, a restricting effect on people's fishing.

While some people complain, most people today prefer the advantages from the local government pattern. They feel there has been a continuity to their history since the beginning of the mission period. Traditional values and the traditional criteria for self-fulfillment are still appropriate to Panaeati life today as noted in Chapter I.

This section concludes our long history of Panaeati's relations in the Louisiade Archipelago. We are now able to examine contemporary social activities on Panaeati. The next three chapters are ethnographic descriptions of Panaeati marriage. We begin with a discussion of courtship.

Chapter III

Courtship and the Beginnings of Married Life

The household and its resident adult married couple has been described as the economic foundation of Panaeati social life. The pace of social activities is set by in-law obligations. Parents want their children to marry an industrious person who, ideally, also has industrious parents. In this ideal situation a spouse's family supports their in-laws' hosting activities. If both families (i.e., each spouse and his or her parents) cooperate and support each other both families profit. Under these conditions there is great concern with making good marriages.

Parents worry that their children will marry an individual with weak character. On Panaeati, this amounts to being "immature" (sigasiga) and "lazy" (pweata). In this chapter, I examine courtship and the early steps of marriage. The central theme in the Panaeati conception of marriage is that courtship and early marriage provide a testing atmosphere. Young people are given opportunities to show themselves in the first year or so of their married life. Separations are very common in the early stages of a marriage. It is relatively easy to enter into a marriage and to exit from a marriage on Panaeati. People want the right kind of spouse. And they are allowed mistakes.

Young people enter casual sexual affairs as soon as they reach "puberty" (wali bwata). Friendships between boys and girls are always kept secret. These friendships (heliheliam) are important. But they

are kept out of the "gossip" network (lobaba). Until a boy and a girl demonstrate to their parents that they are responsible enough to enter married life, Panaeati people say, 'we play' (ha galavenu).

Young men and women who are not clan mates should not be seen speaking to each other. All sexual contact is prohibited between clan mates. Clan mates of the same sex are called taliau. Clan mates of opposite sex are called nubamiau. Clan mates are close relatives and they also are close friends. They help each other's romantic pursuits by acting as go-betweens or messengers. People hold their clan affiliation wherever they may travel in the Milne Bay District. They inquire about the local name for their clan's bird totem. They still feel a closeness in spite of the local differences among island neighbors.

The best messengers are not clan mates, however. They are cross-cousins who are from the same clan and are the same sex as the person receiving the message. These people carry messages proposing sexual meetings between lovers. It is rare that a person can find the time to give his own message to his lover, but sometimes a passing word can be exchanged between young men and women. The following interchange was given to me as an example of how young people can make their own arrangements. Here, two people pass on the path:

boy:	Where are you coming from?	ga unem?
girl:	Huh?	e?
boy:	Where are you coming from?	ga unem?
girl:	What is it to you?	hauna nu wam?
boy:	Nothing, I just asked.	nigea, iya nel ia.

girl:	Where are you coming from yourself?	ga unem owa?
boy:	I'm coming from the west.	iya nem nati.
girl:	Goodbye.	eeo.

The ending "goodbye" (eeo) is critical to a young man. If a young woman ends the conversation with an upward swing to her goodbye, a young man has been given a positive sign. However, if she says the final goodbye with a downward swing, and cuts off the final 'o' sharply, he has been turned down.

One way to better a young man's chances for success is to send "love gifts" (buwa). These are traditional on Panaeati. They are given by both men and women. Serious love gifts have always been in the form of a red spondylus shell necklace worn tightly around the neck. These are called samakupa (cf. Malinowski, 1922:81). Besides the necklaces, people give betelnut, tobacco, canned foods, calico, and cash to their lovers. It is much more common for men to give women gifts than the opposite situation. Messengers carry these gifts and return with a reply. But one can never be sure. Girls love to "trick" (kakauwi) their boy friends. They often accept the gifts and never show up for a rendezvous. Adults complained that most of the young people's cash earned from plantation work was spent for love gifts instead of family needs.

Lovemaking is prohibited in the garden areas (eowa) on Panaeati, but other parts of the bush are open to clandestine meetings in the day and the night. Prudence is the critical safeguard against being exposed to gossip. This is true for courtship and also for adultery.

In the evenings, young men walk up and down the path, which stretches

from one end of the island to the other. They strum guitars and sing in small groups. South Pacific country style music is very popular in Milne Bay. This "walking about" (nawanawa) is almost always associated with clandestine sexual visits. Young men simply wait for everyone to go to sleep. And then the coast is clear. This public walking is only for young men and little children, however. Girls and unaccompanied adult women are not allowed to walk freely after dark. In fact, to avoid gossip, women should always be accompanied by another older or very young person.

All post-pubescent girls sleep in a separate part of their houses. Here, ideally, is the only place where they should entertain men. While girls are not scolded for entertaining visitors, reputation can be ruined if this is done too often. A girl who has numerous lovers builds a bad reputation as a future wife. For this reason, all meetings are secret.

Most meetings are planned ahead of time, as noted earlier. Sometimes even small children serve as messengers, but little children cannot be trusted. Children over ten years old are very reliable, however, and they do a lot of the leg work for their elders in a variety of contexts. When a young man receives positive word from a girl, he finds out exactly where she sleeps in her house. Lovers sleep together until just before dawn. Then, young men scramble home while it is still dark. Mistakes are sometimes costly. Close calls are common. Adults enjoy looking back on these early adventures.

Young men also try unscheduled visits. They tap at the girl's section of a house and wait for an answer. If she accepts, she lets him

inside if the coast is clear. Or she goes outside to relieve herself and meets the boy there. Then, both climb into the house. The girl shields the boy with her body so people in the house do not see him. She can shield him well once they are under a sleeping mat.

"Love magic" (tokabigasi) is perhaps the most popular magic used on Panaeati today. Young people want to learn all forms of magic, but they do not share the same early interest in the other types of magic. By the time young people reach their late teens, many adults lose confidence in their interest and deny them the other forms of magic (i.e., gardening, healing, sailing, and requesting).

Love magic plays a major role in courtship today. It is also used for adultery. Everyone has a variety of magical spells that aids them in sexual adventures. Love magic is used for two broad purposes: to convince someone to desire another person, and to punish someone for repulsing or tricking a lover.

The classic context for love magic on Panaeati are large hosting occasions. The confusion and mixing of groups of people offer good opportunities for couples to disappear. Men and women dress and primp themselves for these occasions. There is a variety of magic for adorning oneself with flowers and armlets. These spells are also used for casual bathing and primping at the end of a day. Boys place flowers in their hair, say the appropriate spell and go for their nightly walks and escapades. This is fun, and it is part of the expected behavior for adolescents. Women have their offensive techniques as well.

Love magic also is widely used by both sexes for sailing trips. Visitors to another island "try" out their magic on their neighbors.

In the past this was dangerous business. Most fights grew out of the theft of another person's spouse. Today, there is still caution in inter-island love-making. Even now, Panaeati people will not chance adultery with a Sudest woman. The Sudest Island sorcery is considered so powerful that it would be foolish to risk being caught. Panaeati women left at home while their husbands and/or lovers sail off are fair game. However, there are also love spells that bind women with such terrible heartaches that they will not sleep with another man while their partners are away.

The following story is a good example of love magic on Panaeati. This story was given to me by an old informant named Togilo (noted earlier). The story and the spell he used are presented below:

> When I was a young man, I approached this girl in the bush and asked her if she would sleep with me. She said no. Well, some days later, I asked her again. She said no. My father told me to get ready to go off to the west. We got ready for the trip and I went off in the morning for our betel nut and pepper. I got to the canoe before the others and I decided to make this magic for that girl for rejecting me. I took a piece of pandanus leaf, folded it and said the spell. I put the kapa on the mast of the canoe and fluttered it in the wind.
>
> Now, the girl was in the bush with her mother working in the garden gathering food. She said to her mother, "Oh Mother! I have to go to the village." The mother asked why but the girl

just left the garden for she could not help herself. On her way to the village shore, she met a clan sister of mine and asked about me. "Oh, he has gone already. They got their betel nut and pepper and sailed off this morning." The girl said that she was going to follow me. She said, "My father and some people are going to go there. I am going to climb aboard their canoe and go along." My clan sister said to her, "Don't go! You are married!" Meanwhile, we had taken a long time to go west before we landed at Kolaiwa Island. When I arrived, they told me that this girl had also arrived with her father's party. I said that I didn't want her for she had rejected me. I just did the magic for "revenge" (lahe). Later, she grabbed me and we slept together.

Placing the Streamer (kapa ana teli)

West wind blows in light gusts
Duau point's light wind blows
Beautiful girls feel the breeze
Rejected girl's thoughts are turned
To me and changed and changed
Her thoughts
Her heart
I can change them
She wants me
She wants no other
Her heart's thoughts are turned

She eyes me
Our friends and their wives
Our brothers and
The bad wives of rich people
They all look around at us
The girl climbs up and cries
She climbs down and cries
Her nose runs
Her tears are like water

The winds are called in the opening lines. The fluttering of the folded "pandanus streamer" (gat gat) is like the girl's aching heart. Like the effect of the wind on the streamer, a speaker changes her heart's direction with his wishes. The girl is no longer in control of her emotions. Her heart is captured and she is under a spell's influence; she cannot avoid its effect. This spell is also used to hold a girl from sleeping with someone else while the speaker is away. The closing references to climbing up and down refer to coconut trees. These trees line the shore on Panaeati, and girls traditionally climb them to watch people sail off from Panaeati and to watch for their return. Here, the spell binds a girl with such bad feelings that she can only cry.

Panaeati people are extremely eclectic about all magic. They use magic from all over Milne Bay, and magic from Wari and from the Engineer Group is especially common on Panaeati. Young people borrow each other's love magic and write spells down in school notebooks. In the past, all

magical spells were memorized. Only clever young people could learn the long magical spells. This is still the case for magic in other aspects of Panaeati life. However, some spells are learned today by first writing them down.

People use love magic all through their lives. Adultery is rampant on Panaeati. But the consequences of getting caught can be quite high. For most adults, however, the adventure and the fun of an occasional "fall to Satan" (ha sogu) is worth the risk. But when young people carry this play-like attitude beyond the late teens, they begin to lose people's respect. Young men who prefer to walk and strum their guitars rather than engage in more serious activities, are regarded as "silly" people (sigasiga). Girls in their late teens who are not married also risk their reputations. They are known as "loose women" (ganauwal), and they are no longer considered good marriage prospects. If they are loose now, it is likely that they will continue this behavior when they are married. Laziness and adultery are the most common reasons for breaking up marriages. Adultery is an extension of silly behavior. It is "foolish" behavior (neganega). Prudence and discretion dominate all extramarital affairs. Ideally, there is no adultery on Panaeati.

Thus, courtship's freedom eventually leads to more important considerations. Young people should find a marriage partner. Ideally, all of this free play is related to finding someone to live with for life. Parents are concerned that their children find spouses who are industrious. Industry or energy is "strength" (gasisi) on Panaeati. Laziness is abhorred. A lazy spouse pulls his (or her) partner's parents' hosting activities back. Both spouses' families suffer from this kind of

situation. The problem, then, is how can one judge a young man's or a young woman's capacity to be a responsible adult? There are "signs" (etutuhi) that give indications of a person's ability. But one can never be sure.

As noted earlier, it is easy to enter into and to exit from a marriage. From outside Panaeati, marriage looks very fluid. A high percentage of marriages are broken off in the first year. After two years, the chances that the couple will remain together are much higher. Marriage in its infant stages is a trial for the young couple. The judges have always been the spouses' parents. But how does one get "married" (alolon)?

When a young man reaches his late teens, he is quizzed by his mother and father. They want to know what girls he considers candidates for marriage. A young man's parents want to find a woman who has a good reputation for sexual discretion and "maturity" (henapu). A young man's mother plays the dominant role here. She knows the women of Panaeati well. She knows which women are good gardeners and which women are lazy. Adult women are also well tuned to the gossip network. They know these things better than the men.

The first formal step is taken when a young man's parents approach a young woman's parents. They discuss the possibility of a marriage between their children. This "meeting" is called kowakowalulu. If it is successful, the young man begins to spend his nights in the young woman's parents' house. He enters the house in the evening and leaves early in the morning to return to his own house for the day's work. The union is extremely tender at this time. This period does not usually

last longer than three months.

During this period, a young man's family tries to obtain an especially fine bagi necklace. One night, a young man takes this necklace with him when he goes to his future in-laws' house. He also takes betel ingredients. A young man ideally places the bagi in the woman's round Rossel Island "basket" (tiltil). This presentation is the "supreme love gift" (hehebuwa). The young woman immediately tells her father what has happened. The young man is then told to stay in the house until after dawn. This is called "sleeping late" (kenu nati).

At dawn, the young woman's father yells out to the waking hamlet people. He shouts that this young man and this young woman are now married. The couple is married, and it is now public information. The young husband spends that day working for his in-laws. He begins a long taxing period of testing by his in-laws. It is very common for the husband's father to join him in the first day's work. His young wife goes off to volunteer her services to her husband's family also beginning her testing.

A young husband now openly sleeps at his wife's house. He walks back and forth from his house to his wife's house during the day. The husband and wife are now more intensely scrutinized by their in-laws. They are under pressure during this time to show willingness to work, conscientiousness, and complete respect for their in-laws. In the past, it seems that this time spent at the wife's was several months. Today a couple normally moves to the house where the husband was living before he married. This is, ideally, his father's residence.

A young husband usually begins to build his own house quite soon

after moving back with his parents. This is the mark of an industrious husband. He usually builds right next to his father's house. House building is a difficult task in Panaeati although it is not as rigidly ordered as canoe building. The only major communal hosting operation is the "roofing" (kivi). Most of the work is done by a young husband alone.

During the initial months of the marriage, a young wife's family make the first in-law presentation. Women from the wife's family march to the husband's parents' house carrying yams and "cooked sago and oil" (moni). The cooked sago is carried by the young wife who is last in line. This is the first formal "in-law presentation" (mulimuli). The women are offered betelnut, pepper, and tobacco at the husband's parents' house where they chat for a short time only; then they return to their homes. The husband's family carefully match whatever they received. Today the traditional items are supplemented by cash and trade store goods. There still must be an equal kind and quality match.

It is also common today for the initial mulimuli presentation to be made by the husband's family. They can win a little prestige by doing this. A family shows itself well be presenting something first. This causes the other family to hurry a bit. They must go out and "request" (awanun) the goods necessary to match whatever they received. A young husband gets help from his family, from his other in-laws, and from his friends. Young people need established people's help. It is rare for a young man to have credit from past dealings. Without credit, as noted earlier, borrowing is difficult.

A young couple's relations with its peers is interesting. A spouse's old lovers give the new couple a hard time. For example, a

young husband is often reminded of his wife's old boy friends by subtle jostling in group situations. It is common for young men to tug each other while they carry heavy canoe planks. They engage in a little test of strength. But men almost never fight. Women, on the other hand, are much more explosive when they are jealous. In all the adultery matters that I heard of during my stay on Panaeati, only the women actually fought. Male fighting is associated with the Period of Darkness -- with killing. This is so repulsive to contemporary Panaeati morals that fighting between men is extremely rare. Contemporary stories of urban violence at Samurai and Port Moresby frighten Panaeati people.

When a young couple's new house is finished, a young wife's family, friends, and in-laws contribute domestic items. They bring cooking pots, mats, utensils, plates, and cups. Women from a husband's family join the women of his wife's family in the new house for an informal get-together.

According to the informants, a young couple fears their respective fathers-in-law most. Young married couples should not eat in their in-laws' presence. This rule holds for the rest of their lives. Food is the focus for relations between in-laws. Abstaining from eating pork anywhere is a young husband's added burden. A young husband's abstention from eating pork is called kokowan. Kokowan also refers to men's fasting honoring a dead spouse, a father, and also a mother. Fasting is a supreme gesture of respect on Panaeati. The importance of feeding and food in general to Panaeati people was pointed out earlier. It is not surprising that voluntary fasting is an expression of "respect" (awatawan) and "humility" (puluwaui). Complete abstention from eating

pork is a man's special gesture.

A young husband should "purchase his shame" (puluwaui ipamora) and regain the right to eat pork. He presents his father-in-law with a fine green-stone "axeblade" (giam) in a special ceremony. While the ceremonial act does not lift the restriction on eating with his in-laws from the young man, the tension between them is now somewhat relaxed after he has broken his pork fast. A young man's wife acts as go-between in these circumstances. She knows the appropriate time to ease the in-law tensions from her feelings and from conversation with her father. She says to her husband, "why don't you eat with my father."

A husband takes this message back to his family. They obtain the axeblade and a fine pig. They kill the pig and present it cooked to their in-laws. The son-in-law is released from his pork fast with a short ritual. The young man's father presents the axeblade to his son's father-in-law. And the father-in-law then wipes his son-in-law's mouth with a piece of cooked pork. A description of how this is done for mourning adults is found in a later section dealing with memorial occasions. While I did not see this ceremony for young husbands, I believe the activities are the same as in the mourning situations.

The steps in the Panaeati marriage process are listed below.

1. Period of courtship and freedom
2. Parental direction
3. "In-law meeting" kowakowalulu
4. Man spends nights at woman's house
5. Betrothal night involving

a. hehebowa presentation

b. public announcement

6. Man openly resides at woman's house

7. Spouses work for their in-laws

8. Residential shift to husband's parents' house

9. Husband builds his house

10. Breaking "pork fast" kokowan

A young man 29 years old, call him B, told me the story of his marriage which occurred seven years ago. He told me that one of his girl friends sent him a lover letter proposing that they get married. B sent her a letter back agreeing. Then they both showed their letters to their parents. Their parents consented to the marriage. There was no separate in-law meeting for this match (i.e., no kowakowalulu). B did spend a betrothal night at his wife's house. There was the morning public announcement also. Both young spouses worked for their in-laws the following day. B and his wife were innovative young people. Both had a bit of experience with Samarai customs. B completed his primary schooling at Misima. The young couple had a wedding dinner where both in-law sets actually ate together. B presented a bagi as hehebuwa at the dinner. I am not sure if he broke his pork fast at the dinner.

Another marriage that occurred during my stay on Panaeati involved a young man home on leave from Misima. He worked for the Administration. The boy's mother had been thinking about finding him a wife. She directed her son to consider a girl who lived across the path from their own house. The boy's mother had been watching the girl's activities from a

distance. The boy liked the girl and decided to marry her. The girl's father told me what happened at the betrothal night.

> I was sleeping in my room in the house. My daughter came and woke me up. She said, 'there is someone here for me.' I asked her who it was and she said it was P. I told her to tell P to go away. My daughter was only 15 and I wanted her to wait for two more years. She went and told this to P who was waiting in the house. She came back and said that P did not want to wait. I said that he could stay because P is a good boy.

I left Panaeati before their wedding dinner. The couple went to live at Misima when the boy's leave was completed.

The contemporary wedding dinner has strong elements of mission influence. The early missionaries stressed sitting together and eating. Panaeati traditional hosting patterns were more concerned with distributing food than with sitting together and eating it. Food was usually delivered to a recipient's home, as in the mulimuli example discussed above. Group labor sessions, however, did involve men eating together. Contemporary dinners -- where everyone sits down together -- is a relatively new pattern on Panaeati.

The Polynesian mission teachers introduced some new hosting features. And today there is great concern for properly setting a long mat with food and utensils. Households take great pride in their supply of kitchen wares. Plates made from tin and also glass dishes are kept

in excellent condition. All people are skilled in the etiquette of Western eating utensils. While men still carry a "shell" (kepu), a spoon-like tool for eating coconuts, important hosting occasions require Western utensils. Panaeati people pride themselves on their reputation for hygiene. Plates and metal cooking pots are always kept scrupulously clean. This is not the case in other areas of the Misima Sub-district.

All communal meals begin with a prayer. Men usually eat first. When they are finished, the women eat together in a less formal atmosphere. The mission has encouraged women to take a more public role in Panaeati affairs. Their importance has never been secondary, however. Women are in charge of all planning of garden food on Panaeati. This gives them a crucial role in all hosting situations, as will be more fully discussed in the next sections. That women act as waitresses and servants for men at these communal dinners in no way reflects their real status.

A wedding dinner is very common in the western islands of Milne Bay, especially in the islands near Samarai and it is beginning to be popular on Panaeati. People also are beginning to get married in a church ceremony. This has been quite common on Misima for several years but most young people on Panaeati follow the marriage steps outlined above. There is, according to elders, more loose marriage beginnings than there used to be. However, this is difficult to ascertain although I did watch several marriages with "false starts" in 1970 and 1971. Most of these marriages broke off in the first year. No one was surprised because these marriages involved people who were known to

be "silly and immature" (sigasiga). These marriages were tolerated by people while they lasted. But the delinquent couple was silently reproached for their actions in the "gossip" network (lobaba).

The most common way to deal with delinquent marriages is to let the young people run their course. As noted earlier, parents still maintain a strong influence over their child's choice of a spouse. It does seem to be the case that parental acceptance -- if not direction -- is still necessary for a marriage to last. It is impossible even today for a couple to live isolated from broader social responsibilities. Adolescent free wheeling must still change into serious economic planning. Parents know this best. When their children make mistakes, parents wait for a marriage to dissolve by itself.

I would like to conclude with a case illustration of a "false start" or delinquent marriage that I witnessed in 1970 and 1971. The case involves a teenage girl whose parents separated. Her father remarried. But her mother remained unmarried. The girl and her siblings lived with her mother. This case is an example of what ideally should not happen, but often does happen on Panaeati. The case offers a lively contrast to the ethnographic ideal pattern outlined earlier.

P's False Start Marriage

> P is the daughter of D and S. P lived with her mother, S. Her mother and father have been divorced for several years. S did not like the fact that her daughter was seeing a young man, F, who wanted to marry P. The mother objected to the young man because he was lazy (pweata) and not responsible

enough to work well and be content with one woman. This is called sigasiga. The boy's reputation was poor. But he spent the night in P's home indicating his marriage intentions. The mother would not have him. She and her daughter fought over this. The news of the marriage had already spread through the island.

P, being unable to find peace at home with her new husband, moved out of her mother's house. She went to her father's house. At dawn one morning, soon after P had moved out of her mother's house, her mother marched through the village and shouted insults at her former husband for housing P. She was angry on two counts. First, she knew that the young man was a bad prospect. She wanted to get rid of him for good. Secondly, she was angry that her daughter had gone to her father for security. The father had been notorious for having little concern for his children. The mother never remarried and had a difficult time supporting her children.

The young girl and the boy stayed at her father's home for about one week. D did not like the boy either, for the same reasons that his former wife had not. I asked him what one could do in this situation. His daughter was stubborn and would not listen to her parents. D did not answer me. During the first week of the marriage, while the boy spent his nights at D's house, the boy went along

with D to clear a new garden patch. The boy worked hard and said nothing to his new father-in-law. D, an extremely vitriolic person, was not enjoying the prospects of having this young man for an in-law. He was embarrassed and upset on this day when I saw him.

The boy and girl finally did move back into the girl's house. They lived there for about 6 weeks. What follows is extraordinary even for Panaeati's loose marriage situations.

One day I heard that P and her younger sister E had a fight. As it was related to me, E and P's new husband had been lovers for a long time, even during the days when P and F were courting. E had succumbed to F's advances while they were all sleeping together in their mother's house. Here was a clear indication that F really was sigasiga.

P was not going to give her young man up, however. She and F moved to Brooker Island for a time to garden. She was able to get away from her sister whom she considered a trouble-maker. P and F spent a month on Brooker Island and two months working copra on Tinolan Island. When they returned to Panaeati again, there was one more incident. F waited in an empty house one day for P's sister to come by on her way to the garden. He seduced her into the house and they were caught by an onlooker who told P of this latest episode.

This was the last straw and the marriage relationship was off. While there had been no presentation of hebora, P had planted yams at Brooker that she had taken from her garden at Panaeati. She could not retrieve these yams.

P moved into her mother's house, and the boy went off to work on a plantation. About two months later, I heard that P was married again. This time it was to M, the captain of a launch from the same plantation on which the first husband was working. M had been visiting P whenever he came back to Panaeati. M was already married and had a young child. His wife lived on Panaeati with her foster parents, while M worked on the plantation.

Everyone thought that M had thrown his old wife away because of rumors of her adulterous activities while he was away working. People thought P had a good man now. This man was not lazy. M went back to the plantation to work, and everyone thought he would send for P to join him soon. Meanwhile, P got into a fight with M's old wife in the gardens. P was attacked as an adulteress.

M arrived back on Panaeati from the plantation. His old wife was receiving letters from another worker at the same plantation. This man had written to her requesting that she come and live with him (i.e., marry him) on the plantation. This man was an old lover of M's former wife. She

packed her belongings in her basket and took her baby on board the launch, not saying a word to M. P stayed at home on Panaeati while her husband, M, and his old wife went to the plantation.

I finally heard the ending of the story. M and his friend on the plantation had set up a plan to teach his adulterous wife a lesson. When they returned to the plantation, he straightened things out. They lived together on the plantation. P stayed back at Panaeati. She lost out again.

In the next chapter a young couple's in-law responsibilities are discussed further. Their obligations to finance memorial activities are examined in detail. The material utility of these activities is stressed. Memorial activities are viewed as material investments for the security of a couple's children. Chapter IV concludes with a case illustration of how one Panaeati man converted his canoe presentation into a contemporary style third memorial occasion. In Chapter V canoe manufacturing and canoe presentations are examined in detail.

Chapter IV

Memorial Occasions

We are now ready to continue a discussion of the activities of married life on Panaeati by concentrating on memorial hosting responsibilities.

Young spouses must be a material resource for their in-laws. It is said that certain character flaws (mostly tendencies to adultery) in a young man will be overlooked if he shows potential as a successful dealer in pigs or as a manufacturer of canoes. If a young man displays the ability to accumulate goods, it is hoped that he will become a "mature" (henapu) in-law. In the same manner, the reputation of a young girl can survive a few mistakes if she is a strong girl. If she is strong in the gardens she will be a welcome addition to a mature adult father-in-law's economic activities. If she also has strong brothers and a strong father and maternal uncle, this too is excellent. Without strong in-laws who can be counted upon, one's own economic ventures are severely limited. Young people are tested for their ability to carry out their part in in-law presentation matters.

In describing the economic obligations involved with marriage, I feel it is important first to introduce the term lagona. This term means "spouse." It has no sex reference. In looking for a fitting translation, I was pleased to find it used in another context besides marriage. When translating magic spells, I was occasionally given a spell and, directly after the first spell, I would be instructed to record another one. The

second spell was the lagona of the first. By this I was informed that the second spell somehow "went with" the first one as "support." The effectiveness of the first spell was aided by the second spell. Both spells together produced the best results. Here again was the familiar theme of "helping" and "supporting" used now to describe one's spouse.

Referring to a spouse as a "helping partner" fits the actual situation of Panaeati married life quite well. In both daily economic activities and also in the more formal presentations to in-laws, the themes of separateness and balancing stand out. In daily economic matters, this separation and balance is best seen as complementary. A wife works in the gardens and the husband is oriented to the sea. A wife's strong efforts in the garden help make her husband's canoe manufacturing ventures successful. Their combined efforts produce rewards that both share at formal presentations involving in-law obligations. There is an ongoing exchange of material goods between their respective families that continues throughout the lives of a husband and wife and also into the next generation. Formal economic exchanges between in-laws are balanced.

Just as there is material benefit from the complementary talents of one's spouse, there is also material benefit from having an active and strong set of in-laws. In-laws represent a resource for material help on some occasions, and, on other occasions they are the reason one needs material help. Borrowing from one's sister's husband's people today in order to present something to one's wife's family tomorrow is common and expected. The flow of goods soon goes in the opposite direction.

Memorial feasts supply the minimal obligatory and required situations for in-law presentations. The deaths that occur in the families of each spouse signal feasting obligations for the deceased's lineage and their in-laws. All in-laws must show their respect for the deceased's family by presenting goods and also by working. This is the minimum that is expected of all people in adult married life. Ideally, each presentation should be returned in equal amount at a time stated by the presentor.

I. Yabeyabe Lewa

The First Memorial Occasion -- Burial Activities

The routine of Panaeati life is halted by a death. A silence falls on the community that separates the bustling activity of village life from the special activities that follow a death. This discussion uses the illustration of the death of an old man. The man who heads the house in which the death occurred is usually a son or a SiSo of the dead man. These two younger men are immediately thrust into the responsibilities of hosting the mourners who come to wail for the deceased. I use the example of a deceased's son as host.

The deceased lies in the son's house. The body is placed on a sleeping mat. A son is faced with a number of problems that are added to his genuine sorrow. His first formal memorial responsibility involving killing pigs in honor of the deceased is called yabeyabe lewa.

The position of an old "widow" (abuabu) and a "widower" (sibauwa) is somewhat like that of a young spouse again. They are bound up with in-law duties once more. It is difficult for old people today. Their

memories of the right way to mourn lean in a stricter direction, while contemporary values oftentimes push them in a more lenient direction. Today a "body" (tomati) is washed and covered with a new (if possible) white sheet. In the past, coconut leaves covered the body. The first person at the scene of the death outside the primary family should be one of the male in-laws of the deceased. In the case of the dead man in our illustration, the surviving wife's brother should now (if alive) come forth with a fine bagi necklace. This critical presentation is called lohu. The wife's brother throws the bagi on the floor in front of an elder man from the deceased's lineage. The bagi is then set in the ceiling so that it hangs over the head of the body. It is referred to as wabu, indicating that a return bagi is not expected for a long time. This presentation is made quickly with what appears to be abruptness. Quick dispatch of the presentation indicates the controlled pride of a presentor. The pride comes from successfully completing one's customary obligation. But it must be controlled by a show of humility (puluwaui). The in-law must complete this presentation as soon after the death as possible. To be late or to come forth with a bagi of mediocre quality would be a failure and an insult to the memory of the deceased.

The source of the lohu bagi, like the source of all items, must always be kept in mind. In order to come up with a superb item like the one that is needed for the lohu, one needs contacts. A large number of personal contacts maximized the possibility that such a fine item (indeed, any item) will be found quickly. While the lohu bagi must be presented by the surviving spouse's lineage, its members' in-laws try to

help find the needed item. The presentor needs that bagi. His in-laws know this; and they should be his first source of help in obtaining the item.

Ideally, the bagi should be hanging over the dead body before other mourners arrive. Within hours the first mourners arrive at the house in a silent line. Women cry and wail for the dead person. "Wailing" (kain) is a traditional talent and it is disappearing. The yough of today find it difficult and embarrassing. One adult woman, raised in the mission school on Misima, told me that she was embarrassed to cry because she never learned how. She was ashamed because she was unable to wail. Not wailing hindered her ability to show proper respect for the family of a dead person. Women come to mourn from all parts of the island. They walk in small groups to the house. They enter the house and instantly break into the wailing cries for the dead person. They sit in the room by the body and cry out short epitaphs about the person and their relationship with him: "Oh, my brother," "Oh, tanuak," "Oh, cousin," and then the singsong wailing starts again. The group wailing rises and falls as the women tire. Then a fresh mourner arrives and the pace picks up again.

Wailing today is considered to be labe or "help." It is a presentation of help from the women to the family of the dead person. Its foundation is expressed by the Methodist term mololu meaning "love." As noted earlier, "help" is part of everyone's notion of the right thing to do. All women who come to express their help by wailing are noted by the family of the deceased. Today, someone writes down the women's names, and, at the second memorial occasion for this dead person, each

woman will receive a pot of cooked food and a portion of pig as an acknowledgement of her help. Step 2. in our outline of yabeyabe lewa operations involves this wailing by women. Men also wail but much less frequently then women. Part of the latitude in today's customs allows for extra items included in the traditional routine of customary activities. Sometimes crying women are offered tea when they leave the house. This is something new but something that definitely fits the hosting ideal of caring for people who have come to help.

If the death occurs in the middle of the day, the body is not buried until the following day. If the death occurs in the middle of the night, there is little possibility that the body will be kept in the house through the next night. While the mourners are wailing, efforts are underway to build the coffin called dedewaga and to dig the grave. Traditionally, there was no coffin; but today building the coffin is considered part of the traditional activity of digging the grave, called salai kenken. Digging into coral ground is extremely difficult labor, even with iron crowbars.

Digging the grave, carrying the body from the house, setting it into the grave, and covering the body with earth are the obligations of the deceased's father's sister's children. As noted in Chapter I, these people are referred to as "Our Fathers" (tamamiau) by the deceased's children and also by the deceased's sister's children. They were called nubamiau ("our cross-cousin") by the deceased during his life. Cross-cousins carry on an exchange relationship throughout their lives based on their mutual memory of the work of the man who was the father to his children (our deceased person) and the mother's brother to his

sister's children. This exchange relationship is continued at the death of one of the cross-cousins. This was discussed in Chapter I.

A person, then, is set in his grave by his father's sister's children. This work is acknowledged by the host of the yabeyabe lewa, who presents them with a fine pig. The pig is called wagawaga kila ("our vessel"). Presentations (the pig in this case) to a deceased's father's sister's children are a fundamental aspect of all memorial occasions. These presentations actually honor the memory of the deceased's life and the critical part played by a deceased's father in caring for him throughout his life. This is a fundamental fact in the Panaeati cultural scheme. This theme -- presentations to the deceased's father's sister's children -- will be more fully explained below.

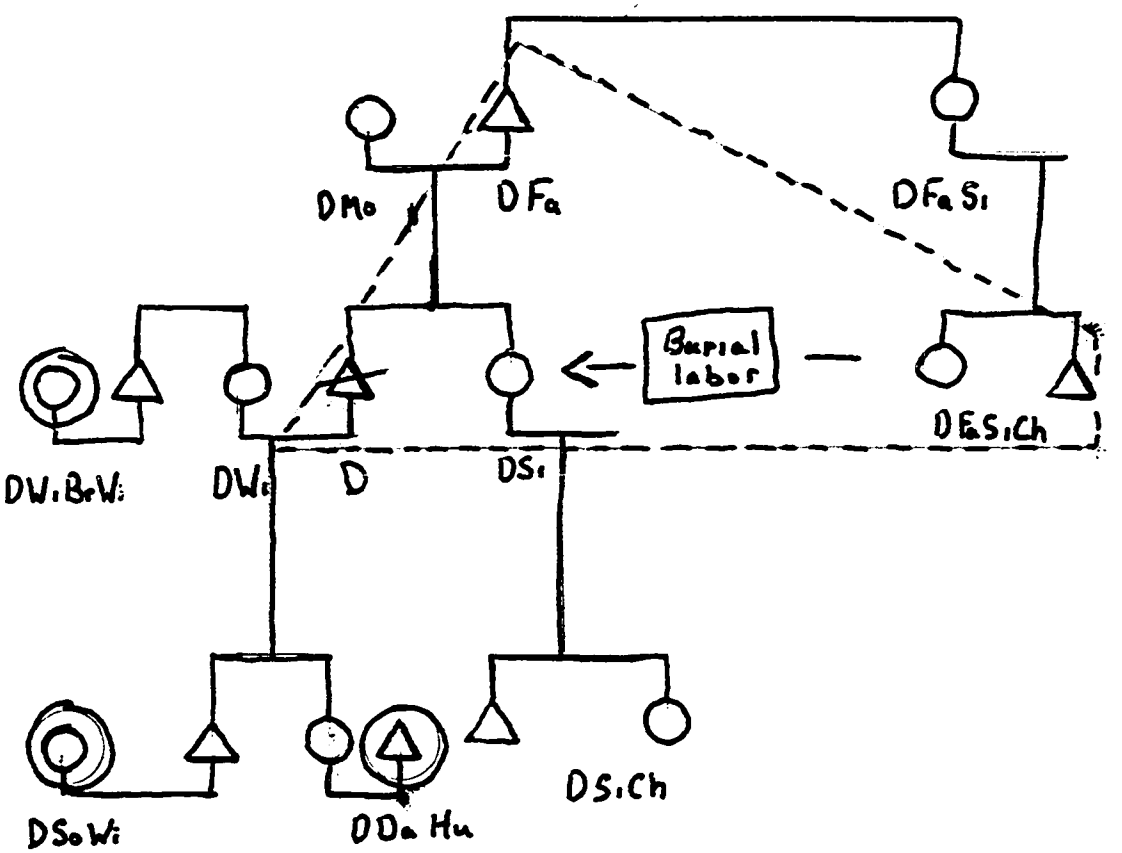
Digging the grave for the deceased (salai kenken) is a critical activity in the occasion of yabeyabe lewa. We must shift attention from the generation of the host (i.e., deceased's son) and his wife to the ascending generation in order to understand better what this operation represents. Our attention for the moment must be with the deceased's lifelong relationship with his father and with his father's sister's children. It was pointed out in Chapter I how Panaeati people stress the gratitude that children feel for the care and food that they received from their fathers. The fathers do something special when they give food from their lineage garden land to their own children.

A man's sister's children, who are members of his lineage, share the attention and the labor he owes his own children. These two sets of children, who are cross-cousins, feel strongly bound by their mutual ties to this older man. All presentations to one's father's sister's

children are called hagali. Return presentations to mother's brother's children are called holhol. There should be an evening up of these presentations as these individuals carry their economic activities into adulthood. The balance is always tilted in favor of a person's debt to his father's sister's children even though the material exchanges carried out by these cousins may be equal.

A person's father's sister's children dig his grave and bury him. This activity reflects the meaning of the term holhol -- "to fill up." Reference here is vividly to the burial operations of digging and filling the grave. This work is acknowledged by the deceased's lineage which presents a pig (wagawaga kila) to the deceased's father's sister's children. The illustration in Figure 1 shows the exchange of burial labor (salai kenken) with the pig.

Burial Transaction Figure 1.



KEY:

Deceased

People who should find the pig for D's W:

Direction = ——→

Cross-Cousin Nubaimiau exchange Relationship

The reader will note immediately that it is impossible to consider the elements of Panaeati customary rules without including three generations There is the generation of the deceased and his wife, called #2. And there is the generation of the marriage that raised the deceased (#1). The deceased was born and nurtured in that nuclear family. There is also the generation of healthy adults that is responsible for the activities of the memorial occasions. These people are the deceased's children and their spouses, and his lineage children (i.e., his sister's children) and their spouses. These people are in generation #3.

The deceased's father's sister's children carry the body to the gravesite and set it into the grave. The body is wrapped in a clean bedsheet. It is considered fortunate if the body is also covered with any other pleasant bright-colored cloth that someone may have. For the four deaths which I recorded, flower arrangements were set on top of the box also. The coffin is set in the grave and a service is conducted according to Methodist custom by the Minister or the missionary. On two of the occasions that I witnessed, school children under the direction of the Misiman-born missionary sang at the graveside.

There is care to guard the gravesite from foraging pigs. Most of the graves are close to the homes and are looked after by the household members. A fence is built around the grave and, for a time, a roof is set up over the grave. This enclosure of the grave is called salai ana limi, "the grave's house."

After the burial, there often is hymn singing. Singing, called wanawana, begins well after dark and involves most of the people of the island who stay all night until dawn. This singing cannot occur without

some indication by the host that he can provide food and drink for a large assembly throughout the night.

Traditional Panaeati rules prohibit drumming and dancing until after the second memorial occasion has been made for the most recent death in the community. People today enjoy group activities and look for opportunities to come together. There is a strong Methodist ideal that stresses coming together and sharing a neighbor's sorrow. All night hymn singing allows people to come together without the drumming and dancing. People can thus assemble without breaking the traditional rule.

All night hymn singing is also an occasion for eating and drinking; for no host would announce an assembly if he could not take care of the group. Like wailing for the dead, hymn singing is an expression of "help." Help should be <u>acknowledged</u> -- not paid for -- by the host. He should offer these singers food and drink throughout the night. Rice is easy to prepare and serves this occasion well. People also desire tea and sugar (huge amounts of sugar for each cup) because of its warming and lifting qualities. Trade items fit this occasion well because there is no opportunity to go to gardens and to retrieve food during the period immediately after a death.

At dawn people from all parts of Panaeati begin to contribute small items so the host can reward the hardy all night singers. Bringing these items and dropping them in a pile in front of the host's house where the singers are concluding their efforts is called <u>bugul palo</u> ("setting things down"). Clay pots, fishing spears, mats, trade goods (mostly kitchen ware) are ideal for this. Grass skirts, trade store

cloth and clothing are also contributed. Some of the items are new and some are used. For larger occasions when traditional dancing is a main feature of the occasion, a host empties his house at the dawn distribution. Clearing out "things" from one's house is part of a host's complete economic sacrifice. For all night singing at the yabeyabe lewa, however, clearing away one's goods is not so complete. The suddenness of the death makes planning difficult and people come forth with their contribution to the bugul palo as best they can.

A host has the obligation to return each person's contribution at some time in the future. Exact item calibration is usually not made. The contributors are noted with care by the host, and he will look for an occasion when he can help each of them. "Things" are groups of items that are interchangeable with each other.

A surviving spouse's family presents a "second pig" (powan bobuana) and a fine "axeblade" (giam) to the deceased's family as soon as they can. The axeblade presentation is called powan. It is said that this pig and the axeblade are compensations for the death and are offered by the lineage of the surviving spouse as a peace gesture. This custom goes to the heart of Panaeati cultural tradition and history where warfare and sorcery caused all deaths. Peace gestures were required to settle the hostility and sorrow of a bereaved family which had lost a member. These peace gestures were called powan and remain a critical presentation today. Arguments within a family and between unrelated individuals are settled by one of the individuals presenting a valuable as powan to the opposite party. If the powan presentation is accepted, the argument is over. If the powan is returned, the argument goes

on. There is still today the belief that death and sickness are caused by sorcery originating from a person's anger. It is important to clear the air quickly. In-laws of the deceased are concerned to erase any accusations or suspicions that they had anything to do with the death.

All pig presentations are accompanied by a wooden dish of yams called bobu kowakowa. The yams are returned directly after the pig arrives at the home of the grieving family. The return dish of yams should be exactly like the one that was received. Attention is given to the size of the yams and the form of the pile. The women of the mourning household are in charge of the yams and return the presentation quickly. The return of the pig is another matter, however. The powan pig (powan bobuana) will not be returned to the family of the in-laws until the death of the surviving spouse. This is the rule for three critical memorial presentations lohu bagi, the powan axeblade, and the pig. "Delayed returns" like this are called wabu. The family of the dead spouse can "work with" these items. An elder male lineage kinsman of the dead person is in charge of the valuables and the pigs. He can trade them to people as he wishes. All that is necessary is that a bagi of the same quality, an axeblade of the same quality and a pig of the same quality are presented to the family of the surviving spouse when he or she dies. Returns or replacements are called lahi. There is, then, a future lohu lahi, powan lahi, and powan bobuana lahi that are the responsibilities given to the surviving spouse's family when he or she dies.

The body, we saw, was buried in the ground; but we have yet to consider an important question: Whose ground is the body buried in?

If the deceased is a man he is simply buried on his own matrilineage land. There is no problem here for this is the customary rule. When "an adult woman," a nevanak, dies, the burial site becomes a critical issue.

In the discussion of courtship and early steps in formal marriage on Panaeati, it was noted that the first bagi presented by the husband's family to the father of the new wife was not acknowledged by a return bagi. This first presentation is given without concern for a return. On Panaeati, this bagi is then referred to as "lost" (yaumol). All other presentations to the family of the girl -- including her matrilineal kinsmen and her relatives through her father -- should be acknowledged by an equal return. Each mulimuli ("in-law presentation") is recorded as a "return" (lahi or mola), or a "debt" (vaga).

A wife's family is not under the same obligation as her husband's family to keep up the balance of in-law presentations, as noted earlier. But a woman's family should, ideally, try to balance the presentations coming in from their woman's husband's people with presentations going back to them. If they have kept up with their in-laws in this ongoing balancing of presentations, they may bury the dead woman in their own lineage land. If a wife's family has let the balance slip in favor of their woman's husband's people, they lose the right to bury her in their own land. A husband can then take his wife -- who has worked with him and shared a lifetime with him -- and bury her in his land. This is an important reward for husbands who have devoted their lives to giving respect and material presentations to their wives' families.

Burying a wife in one's own land is a mark of a strong man and

represents an incentive that drives a man's economic pursuits. It reflects a man's ability to generate goods in honor of his wife. He has presented pigs, canoes, and valuables at critical times when he knew the in-laws were in need of these items. Taking one's wife and burying her in one's own land is a public political triumph for a husband. It is really the only reward that he can gain from his wife's family. However, a man's in-laws from his mother's marriage -- one important way to look at father's sister's children -- offer him the chance to achieve another material reward. As we shall soon see, these people offer him the possibility of obtaining a residential site on their lineage land.

The powan serves a real purpose at burial time for it is a "peace maker". Deaths are a tense time for all. This tension is increased at a woman's death. Taking a woman away from her people is a potentially explosive operation. For the husband who can take his wife and bury her in his own lineage estate, this is a triumph. For the wife's surviving lineage members -- especially her brothers -- this loss is a bitter embarrassment. The powan axeblades and the powan pig clear the air and ease the tension.

II. Post-Burial Activities

As will shortly be seen, there is some latitude in mourning obligations today that depends on the situation as the deceased's lineage see it. Our illustration of a dead older man is continued. The new widow is washed with hot water immediately after the deceased has been buried in order to cleanse the death from her body. Today, while she is allowed

to go without charcoal on her body and in her hair, she is not allowed to bathe in the sea again until the end of her severe mourning period.

A widow is returned to her lineage people and resides with them until she remarries. She is not allowed to walk freely without permission from the deceased's lineage elders or from her elder male kinsmen. Today, widows return to their gardens about a week after the death. A widow is not fully released from all other restrictions noted above until they have made a formal yam presentation honoring her dead spouse. Thus, women begin planning their yam harvest so they can give the most exceptional yams. These yam presentations, called hagali, are made at either the end of the year's harvest in September, or at the beginning of the new yams in April or May.

"Widows" (abuabu) and "widowers" (sibauwa) are both under the guidance of their deceased spouse's lineage elders. An old widower finds himself in a special kind of submissive relationship to the deceased's lineage. While the surviving spouses are in definite mourning, they are supposed to comfort the lineage mates of the deceased. This is the situation for both widows and widowers.

A widow is not the only woman mourning for the death of the old man in our example. There are also the old man's kinswomen. These women (sisters and sisters' daughters) wear a different mourning skirt called giba levaleva. The old man's daughter also mourns, and she wears the same kind of skirt as the dead man's sisters and sisters' daughters. A daughter's mourning obligations to her father are not as strict as the widow's. While a deceased's daughter and lineage sisters feel a heavy burden of sorrow, they are not bound by the same customary duties.

Female in-laws, however, are obligated to make a memorial yam presentation. While a deceased man's daughters can make these presentations as well, they often wait one or two years before they do so. The deceased's wife, his sons' wives, and sisters' sons' wives try to make their yam presentations as soon as possible. The period of time between the death and the hagali presentation is a tense time for these women. It is difficult to manage the garden yield so that enough of the highest quality yams are available for the presentation. If there are conflicting events that draw from the women's storehouses, a hagali can be a difficult undertaking. Successfully gauging her harvest and coming forth with a yam presentation is the supreme expression of the talents of a woman on Panaeati.

In a way, yam presentations are to women what canoe presentations to in-laws are to men. Both represent the "end products" of planning and working (tualali). Both are accomplishments that are in full public view and represent important achievements. Both are ways of fulfilling in-law obligations based on respect for a marriage.

Table 1 lists the post-burial sequence of activities. Step 1, as noted above, is the women's planning for their hagali yam presentations.

Table 1. Post-Burial Sequence

Steps:

1. Widow and in-law women plan for a future hagali presentation
2. Closing a portion of deceased's garden land
3. Abandoning deceased's residence site
4. Hagali presentation by widow and in-law women

5. The iwas, hosted by deceased's male lineage elders and/or deceased's sons
6. Opening garden land again
7. "Taking down" the deceased's house (golekaleka) and the beginning of residence return and house building
8. The soi or the simenti pig killing and food distributions
9. "Breaking the pork fast" (bobu kakauwan)

Very soon after the death, the kinsmen of the deceased man cut down some of the trees on the lineage land that the deceased shared with them. The kinsmen, in effect, "close off" (kaus) a section of land out of respect for the deceased. The kinsmen are obligated to finance this labor operation by supplying cooked food, and by killing a pig. The in-laws should be the source of the goods needed for this event. The focus of responsibility for the event is on the specific kinsman who is hosting the party. The work that is done is said to be a "sign" or a "mark" (etutuhi) demonstrating respect for the deceased. Closing a land plot is Step 2 in Table 1.

The deceased's residence site is also closed after his death. The house that the deceased occupied before his death is now abandoned. Sons were usually granted permission to live next to their father's house. According to the rules, they should abandon their homes too and leave them standing vacant. Leaving the residence site of the deceased is Step 3. The sons and the mother are now allied even more vividly than before. Sons can go to their own lineage area and take up residence with their mother or, if convenient, they can live with their wife's family.

Leaving the father's house is an extremely critical step. The son will not return to the house for several years. Residence and land rights are achieved on Panaeati and are never taken for granted, as noted in Chapter I. For the widow, her return to the house site of her husband is not of great concern. Her personal relationship with that residence site is primarily completed at the death of her husband. Returning to that residence site is a challenge offered to her sons.

Thus, after a death, men and women begin independent, parallel memorial presentation activities. It is important to keep this duality in clear focus as we proceed through the sequence of Post-Burial Obligations.

Step 4. -- the Women's Hagali Presentations.

The operations involved in hagali presentations are perhaps the most "beautiful" activities (along with the launching of a new canoe) that I witnessed on Panaeati. The beauty is seen most vividly when the mourning women are released from their duties and return to the routine activities in the community. This return is symbolized by the widow being festively dressed, decorated, and then paraded.

The diagram below illustrates the main characters in a "typical" hagali presentation. It will be instructive to focus attention on two women only: the deceased's wife, and his son's wife. We can then follow the operations of a woman at the late stages of her in-law responsibilities and, also, of a woman at the beginning of her marriage. In Figure 2 below these two women are circled for reference. Both women are in-laws to the deceased. Hagali duties are primarily in-law responsibilities.

While the hagali yam presentations are the women's affair, men have important decision-making responsibilities. As in the yabeyabe lewa, the deceased's lineage men and the deceased's son cooperate in the planning of the hagali. Cross-cousins usually work well together. It is usually the case that the lineage elders of the deceased decide on the time of the hagali after they have consulted with the women about the status of their gardens. A son does not feel the pressure of hosting until the third Soi activity. However, diligent sons can take over the planning for all events associated with the death of their father if they feel that the father's lineage is needlessly procrastinating.

As noted earlier, since the death the women have set aside yams for the presentation. The yams are dug out of the ground and then set in a large hole in the ground and covered with sticks and leaves. "Digging out the yams" from the ground is the symbolic representation of the harvest. It is called la kenken and stands for all garden work in which women engage. The yams are placed in the ground again to "heal the scars" on the skin that were made when they were taken from the ground. One week in the ground is enough to freshen the yams so that they can be formally presented. The two women in our illustration work separately for the hagali.

For a complete hagali, each woman presents two large baskets that are stacked with seven layers of huge yams formed into a coned peak. One of these baskets should be from the early yams planted at the time of the last harvest (to supplement the lean months of February through April). This first basket of yams is called nomasal ("appearance"). The second basket looks exactly like the first and is called kukululu.

The "hagali baskets" (vegaiyas) used are larger than the usual garden baskets. They are blackened with smoke, indicating that this event is a death memorial. A woman may present only one basket of yams this year, and may present the other basket the following year when the harvest may be better. It is not easy to find a number of yams appropriate for the hagali. It is better not to present at all than to present an inadequate pile of yams.

The yams for the occasion are washed and cleaned of dirt. Most women need help in the complicated business of piling these yams. The yams are piled first in the house of the host by the woman presentor and a helper. The helper can be anyone of the presentor's relations. It is important primarily to find someone who is good at piling yams. For one major hagali that I recorded that involved eight women presenting yams for the same death, the helpers were related to the presentors as: Mo, Si, FaSiDa, FaWi, HuMoBrWi, MoSi, MoSiSoWiMo, MoBrWiMo. The yams are piled to insure the best possible fit. Each yam has to fit the stack and each then has its own place in the pile. Women try several methods of stacking until they hit upon a successful pattern. They then take the top of the pile down leaving the bottom yams in the baskets. Carrying all the yams stacked in one basket for a long walk is too much even for the strongest woman. Therefore, each presentation basket is divided into two parts. The "bottom" of the pile, called guininana, is carried separately. The "top yams," called pwatana, are carried separately as the second part. Each nomasal basket and each kukululu basket has a bottom and a top part, then. The yams must be repiled by the woman presentor to fit perfectly when they are delivered to their

destination. This will be explained shortly.

While the women are in the house piling yams, men coordinate the activities outside the house. Along with yams, there should be a special pot of cooked sago and coconut oil, called moni nova. Preparing the sago is always the men's work. Moni nova is prepared in the same manner as the usual sago moni, except for some special additions. A green leaf called lagitu (not identified) is added for flavor and tints the moni a light green color. Two to four long strips of baked sago are placed in a pot of cooked moni. These pieces of sago (which have been crudely baked and then scraped clean of ash) are called tomati piawina, which translates literally as "strips of a corpse's flesh." This is a memorial gesture by the in-laws representing the dead person. The last addition to the moni are decoration pieces that vary but are usually small sticks and light streamers called isela. These little flaglike notions are set with care in the middle of the pot of greenish, oily, cooked sago. This is a lot of work. Each pot must be constantly stirred and the entire process for each pot takes over one hour. There are also the jobs of bringing in coconuts and firewood. The women's in-laws and families supply the workers with food. They should also kill a pig to acknowledge the laborers' help. These workers are clan and lineage mates of the deceased's son, his in-laws, and the lineage mates and in-laws of the women making the hagali. There is a division of labor by skill. Cooking the moni nova and killing and butchering pigs require skill, Men who are best at a specific task take the same task at these occasions. There is one important point that should not be overlooked. In-laws of the deceased (i.e., family members of the present-

ing women, especially) do not eat or drink in the presence of the deceased's blood relatives on penalty of "deafness" (tuwi). Their labor help on this day is acknowledged by a portion of the killed pig and a pot of cooked food that are delivered to each of their homes at the end of the day. The in-laws eat only at the end of the day in the privacy of their homes.

Ideally, the entire hagali should be accomplished in one long day. In all of the cases that I recorded, this was possible except for one large hagali that involved eight women presentors. On this occasion, the hagali lasted into the following day. It was not possible to finish decorating the women mourners and to do all the food preparation in one day. For that hagali, the moni nova and the yams were prepared and delivered on one day. And the following day the women were decorated and paraded.

Decorating the women is called pahipahig, "to bathe." This procedure can take some time. Each woman making a hagali presentation should have a helper here, too, just as she had a helper in stacking her yams. This helper or attendant should be a woman from the deceased's clan and, in all of my cases, this was the case. The mourning women are bathed by walking into the sea for the first time (except to relieve themselves) since the death. Even with today's relaxation in mourning duties, women strictly hold to this abstention from bathing. By this time, their hair and bodies are caked with grime. Their hair is washed and cut by their attendants. The women are then covered with coconut oil to bring out their rich coloring. Their faces are marked with a black dye made from a root called heeko (not identified) that comes only

from Sudest Island. The white facial markings are made from crushed lime and salt water.

The old, long, gray mourning skirt is now covered by shorter, new, grass skirts. The three new skirts and the old mourning skirt are trimmed. "Cutting the mourning skirt" (to the knees), called loba i kilaha, is done with a short trade knife while the woman is standing. This action symbolizes the "coming out" aspect, hilau, of the hagali. The new outer skirts are brightly colored and today trade dyes are used freely. Hagali days are festive times for "bright" colors (ket). Red hibiscus flowers are set in the women's hair and the attendants fashion headbands, armlets, and leglets that are worn by the proud women.

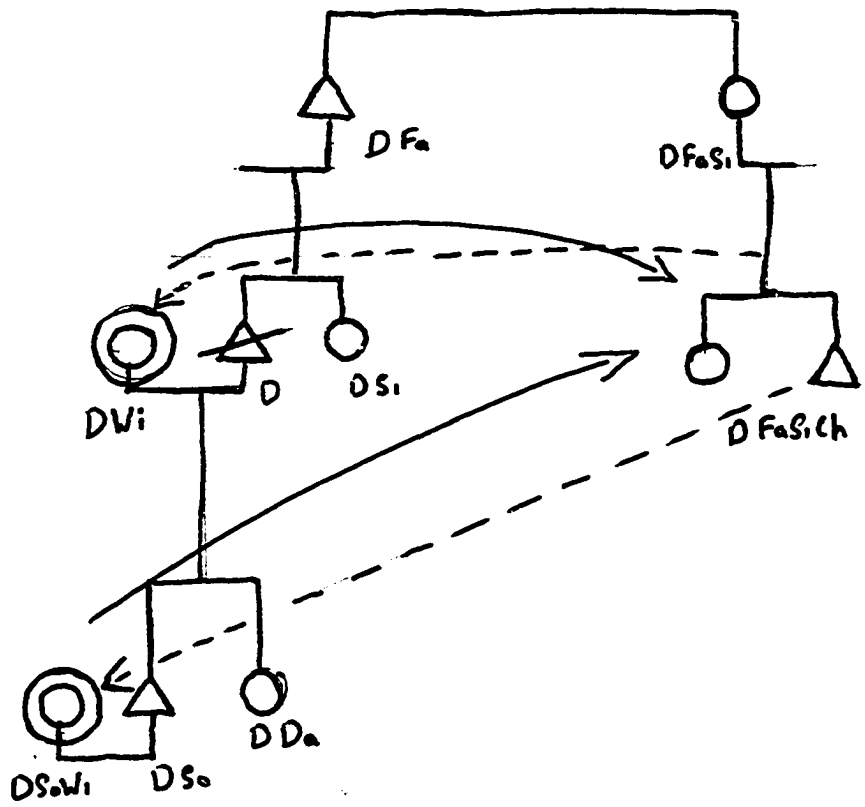
However, the women are not openly joyful on this occasion in spite of the bright colors and the festive-like dress and surroundings. The hagali presentors that I saw were rigid and sullen displaying controlled pride. They were humble (puluwauwi) in front of their in-laws (the son and his many clansmen and the clansmen of the deceased). Controlled pride and humility rather than bravado are the proper attitudes for this affair.

The yams represent a woman's resolve, energy, and respect for her spouse. For the surviving widow, it is a memorial to her marriage and another step in her long history of in-law duties. For the son's wife, the burden of this hagali is not as vivid or devastating. But because she is presenting these yams on behalf of her spouse, his lineage mates and the lineage mates of the deceased as well owe her some reward and they remember her efforts.

It was noted earlier that burial is part of the cross-cousin holhol

obligations from MoBrChi to FaSiChi. The wagawaga kila pig is considered in the hagali presentation as an acknowledgement of this holhol. In the same manner, the hagali women are simply adding to the presentations that have been going on during the lives of the deceased and his FaSiChi. This will be explained in the next section. The in-law women's yam presentations are also called, in this context, hagali as was the case for the wagawaga kila pig presentation noted above. Hagali presentations are made by women on behalf of the deceased's lineage people. The wife of the dead man and the wife of the son of the dead man both walk and deliver their yam presentations to the representative of the deceased's FaSiChi -- the eldest male and female lineage members. If there are several women making hagali presentations each woman delivers her yams to a separate member of the deceased's FaSiChi lineage. The critical rule is that some member of the lineage should receive these presentations. The hagali yam delivery and its acknowledgement is illustrated in Figure 2.

Hagali Presentation Figure 2



Key:
<--- fauna
--> yams
○ hagali women
/ Deceased

The deceased's FaSiChi must acknowledge the work of these dutiful in-law women. The women are sacrificing a significant portion of the finest yams from their harvest. They are losing the seed value of these yams for next year. Payments for presentation of uncooked food are called taona. Taona are also payments for uncooked food in the context of overseas trade transactions. There is a ceremonial aspect to the hagali taona payments, however. The purpose of the taona for hagali presentations is to allow the women to buy seed yams from other women for their coming year's gardens.

The hagali women march proudly carrying one of the large baskets filled with yams or a pot of moni nova. The mourning women who make the actual presentation have helpers who carry the rest of the yams, and also, perhaps, some cooked food and trade items. There is latitude here for a woman who has a strong family (i.e., strongly contributing in-laws) to give items besides the yams and the moni nova that make up the core of the hagali presentation. The presenting party arrives at the house of whoever represents the deceased's father's sister's children and sets the items down inside the house. The woman making the presentation now repiles the yams in the same manner in which they were piled in the practice session earlier in the day. She takes the yams from the "top basket" (pwatana) and piles them in seven layers from the base or "bottom basket" (guinina) to the top yam. If the woman is making a complete hagali presentation, she will have to make two complete piles. One basket is for the "early crop" of yams (nomasal). The second basket represents this year's harvest (kukululu), as mentioned above. On top of the stacked piles, the women place a single, well-formed, round yam,

called pwatana ("top").

Now, it is the turn of the representative of the father's sister's children to acknowledge the hagali presentation with the taona. He (or she) takes off the top yam and presents the women with a giam axeblade or cash. A common amount for this situation is $2.00. The cash or the axeblade can be used to purchase seeds. The taona is now owned by the woman presentor. Along with cash and axeblades, other goods are also included in the taona acknowledgement by the father's sister's children. Bugul ("things") goods such as plates, utensils, and calico are commonly offered. Clay pots and garden baskets are also common. On one recorded hagali transaction, the taona included $2.00 plus a pig. The pig was a substitute for a giam. It seems that the father's sister's children on this occasion could not find a giam but could find a pig. In a situation like this, the spokesman for the father's sister's children would explain carefully why he was giving a pig and would apologize for stretching the rules.

The presenting party does not stay long. They should be offered betel and sit and rest for a short time. The spokesman for the father's sister's children is now a host and is under pressure. He has to assemble the taona items through his personal awanun requesting efforts by asking his own in-laws and friends for the items that he must give on this afternoon. He will have to return those borrowed items according to the terms of each of his creditors, according to the usual host's pattern for generating material goods for all exchange transactions on Panaeati.

The amount of the taona is not related to the size of the hagali

presentation. Even though it represents payment for the yams offered, the taona represents an independent opportunity for the father's sister's children to show themselves. They should be embarrassed if their presentation is small, even if the hagali offered them is only one-half the full two basket presentation. The critical hagali dealings are finished with the taona acknowledgement to the women presenting yams. There are some other transactions that must be explained, however, before we can conclude the discussion of women's hagali.

The people who cooked the moni nova are rewarded with food and pork. The women attendants who decorated the hagali women are also given items for their help. "Things" (bugul) are also given by the hagali women to their helpers. The lineage people and the in-laws of the hagali women contribute a variety of goods so the women can acknowledge the help of their assistants (i.e., their attendants and the woman who helped them pile yams).

Hagali women also present items called nohehewaga to their spouses. These are usually given the day following the yam presentation. The items for this transaction are presented in sets of five: 5 "sleeping mats" (halagi), 5 "clay pots" (ulun), and 5 plates of "smoked shell fish" (kuibai). There is no acknowledgement or return by the men for the nohehewaga gifts.

All the transactions associated with the hagali are outlined below. This is one day's complete sequence.

Table 2. Post Burial Sequence -- Step 4. -- The Hagali Steps

1. Women stack yams in practice for the presentation:

a. Nomasal - early appearing yams from last year's harvest

b. Kukululu - this year's harvest yams

c. Each basket has a "bottom" (guinina) and a "top portion" (pwatana) for ease in carrying.

2. Cooking of the sago moni nova under direction of the male host (i.e., the son and husband) or a SiSo

3. Decorating and bathing the hagali presentors by female clans-women of the deceased

4. Presentation of the yams and the moni nova to deceased's FaSiChi

a. Acknowledged by taona from FaSiChi to women presentors

5. Delivery of the worker's cooked food and pig portion by the family of the host son.

6. Bugul "things" presented to female helpers by hagali women for their help (pahipahig)

7. Sets of five items presented by hagali women to their spouses (nohehewaga).

Hagali and Land Inheritance

These elaborate and extensive memorial presentations by women are extremely important activities. The hagali presentations are registered by their spouse's lineage and are regarded as gestures of supreme respect. The presentations by the women have an instrumental aspect as investments towards future land acquisitions. Land acquisition is a strong motive which combines with the more ephemeral motives of a public display to drive women to present yams in the name of their spouse's dead kin.

Reference again must be made to the three generations as outlined in Figures 1 and 2. While the in-law women in generations 2 and 3 (Figure 2) are the center of attention on the hagali day, reference to the deceased's life calls attention to the affairs of the ascending generation. The deceased's FaSiChi may find this day's hagali presentation somewhat distressing for the following reason: Generation 1 is the marriage that is responsible for the deceased's life. Suppose the marriage in Generation 1 ended with the mulimuli in-law presentation unbalanced in favor of the lineage of the deceased's Mo. That is to say, the deceased's Mo and her lineage mates not only returned all their presentations but did more. The deceased's Mo and her people went -- and it often happens -- so far ahead of her husband's lineage that something had to be done by that lineage (the deceased's father's) to even out the material exchanges.

Such debts resulting from uneven in-law exchanges are erased by the husband's people granting plots from their garden land to the in-law wife and her children. As noted in Chapter I, land is granted according to two principles. According to one of these rules, or principles, the land plot can be permanently disengaged from the lineage estate to which it formerly belonged. That is, the children (the sons) of the woman receiving the land can continue to use the land and grant use rights to people they choose in the next generations. This permanent disengagement of the land is called nabwahik, meaning "to hold onto" something: disengaging the land plot only for the lifetime use of the children of the woman who caused the marriage exchange imbalance is called enovin, meaning "to keep one's mind on something." This way,

the land returns to the lineage that was previously associated with it at the children's deaths. Enovin would result if a smaller (i.e., disproportionate balance) debt was incurred by the husband's people. The women in our illustration are working towards the time when their husbands' lineage tallies their in-law exchanges and makes land grant decisions. The woman in generation 2 (i.e., the deceased's wife) may have had a strong presentation career throughout her married life. This day's hagali could be one of a number of such presentations that she has made on behalf of her spouse's lineage. As deaths occur in his family she honors them -- and, in turn, makes investments for herself and her children -- by presenting yams to the deceased's FaSiChi. For the deceased's son's wife, this day's hagali could be the beginning of a healthy presentation career that could, someday, result in a land reward for her children.

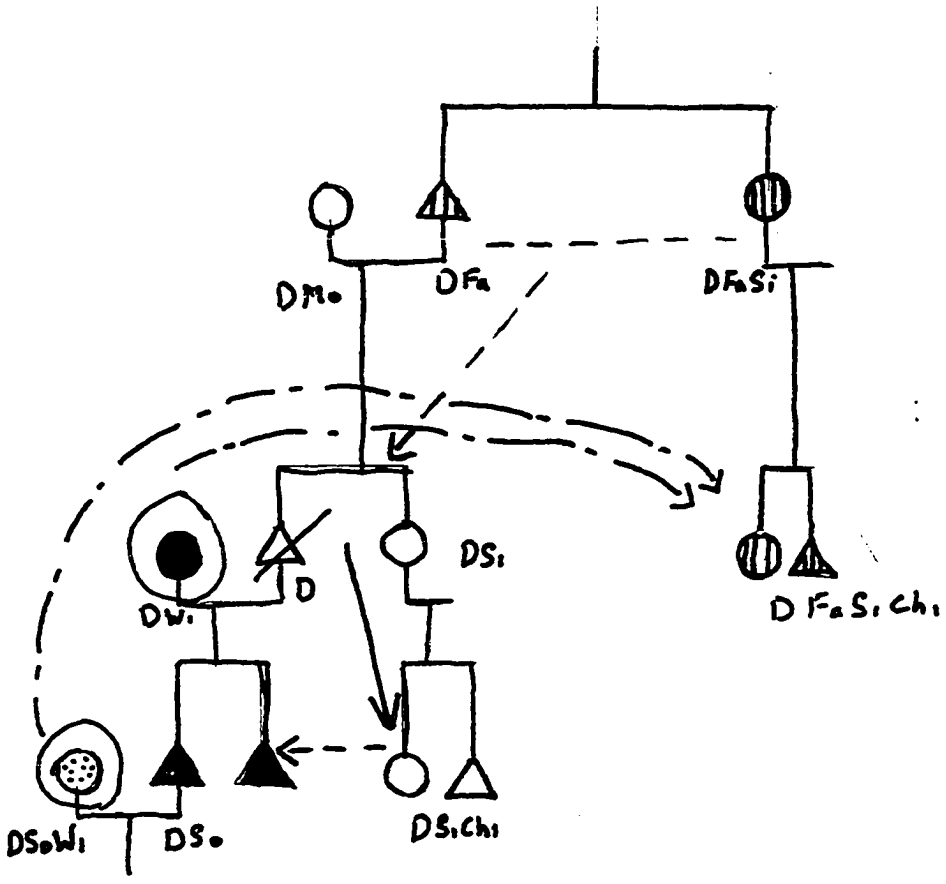
The pattern, then, is for land to pass from the husband's lineage to the lineage of the wife and children, according to the principles of "permanent rights" (nabwahik) or "temporary rights" (enovin). A problem arises in that the distinctions between the two principles are often blurred. That is, people are not sure if the land they are using is under the term of nabwahik or enovin. If it is enovin, then it should be returned at the death of the children of the marriage that initiated the transfer in the first place. The lack of formality and the lack of clarity in the terms of the land grant is oftentimes awkward. Returning land is an uncomfortable and potentially explosive situation. The fact that the parties involved are all offspring of a marriage two generations above and call each other "our fathers" and

"our children" helps to avoid real bitterness (see Chapter I, rudiment 17).

It is possible for one generation of female in-laws to add to the hagali presentation efforts of their mothers-in-law. Figure 3 illustrates how this can be accomplished. There, the three generation situation is shown. The hagali presentation by D's Wi (black) in generation #2 to D's FaSiChi (blue) drives the latter's lineage (blue) further in debt to D's Mo's lineage (red), which includes D and his siblings. This hagali day's efforts could force D's FaSiChi to change the terms of their original land grant to Dss Mo and her children. Enovin "temporary rights" could now be changed to "permanent" nabwahik terms for the next generation to use freely.

Thus, women not only honor their spouse's lineage by their hagali efforts, they perform a real function by reinforcing their husband's lineage's claims to land. D's SoWi (white) in Generation 3 is beginning to invest in her children's future. The nabwahik principle that is formed from this day's yam presentation very possibly will be critical to her inheritance possibilities. She and D's Wi are working together to unhinge land from her D's Fa people to D's people and eventually to D's Wi and son. The more land for which D's lineage can obtain permanent rights now, the easier it will be for these people to grant plots to the wives and children of their men.

Hagali and Land Inheritance Figure 3



Key:

Temporary land grant

Permanent land grant

Women Presentors

Yams (i.e., Hagali)

Figure 3 shows the steps in this process. The initial efforts of a woman in generation #1 led to a land grant on "temporary rights" (illustrated by hashed marked arrow). Because of the hagali efforts of the women in the following generation (i.e., D's Wi), this original temporary land grant was permanently transferred to the deceased's lineage (red), as shown by the solid arrow coming from the hashed marked arrow. D's SoWi and children (black) can someday profit from this. By her hagali efforts on behalf of her Hu's lineage to D's lineage over the years, D's SoWi can drive them in debt to D's Wi and her son (black). They obtain a plot (hash marks) from the black lineage that, in turn, can someday be passed to the white lineage (i.e., D's SoWiChi).

Although the terms of the land grants are hazy and oftentimes not made formally, the pattern is clear. Women work for their children's sakes. They present yams so that they can unhinge a portion of their spouse's lineage land. The Panaeati people say that the women (mothers) are remembered for that first operation of the hagali, la kenken, "digging out the yams." In answer to my inquiry about land, the reply that the land was being used because of some woman's efforts at la kenken was soon understood by me to mean that the land was in the process of transfer from one lineage to another and perhaps there had not been enough hagali presentations to complete the "transfer," so it was best not to press the issue.

To sum up, the following points should be stressed. Hagali in-law presentations are made by women as investments for the future security of their children. Women work to release land plots controlled by their husband's lineage. Women from one generation can help a woman

in a senior generation by contributing to her presentation investments. Land passes from one lineage to another through women's efforts. Unclear land rights are common. The continuing generations work out these unclear land arrangements when they are adults. The fact that interested parties are either cross-cousins in the same generation or "fathers" and "children" in alternate generations helps to avoid land transaction conflicts. Both parties remember their mutual tie to a dead man. They negotiate as "children" and "fathers" recalling the marriage bond two generations above.

Post-Burial Series -- The Iwas

Traditionally, the second memorial occasion (iwas) did not occur until several months after the death. Today, this second occasion is sometimes added to yabeyabe lewa activities and occurs soon after the death -- perhaps three or four days after the burial. But the traditional pattern was for the iwas to come after the women's hagali.

Iwas means "to untie" or "release" and it refers to releasing community mourning restrictions. Traditional mourning rules prohibit any serious economic venture associated with pigs until an iwas has been performed for the last death in the community. The screams of a pig when it is wrestled and hobbled are said to pollute the village. The iwas erases the threat of "pollution" (bwalena). The prohibition against economic dealings in pigs extends throughout the entire village. Thus, breaking the prohibition is something in which all people, not just the primary mourners, have an interest.

The sooner that everyone in the village can return to economic

pursuits, the better. The iwas prohibitions are lifted when the party wishing to undertake a venture associated with killing pigs offers a wealth item to the lineage of the most recently deceased. This payment for "permission" to hobble pigs is called muya. In today's streamlined routine on Panaeati, there is some pressure to complete the iwas as soon as possible. However, not all people can do this because they cannot obtain the food and the pigs in a short time.

Therefore, alternative patterns for presenting this second occasion are found today. The first is to compress the iwas with the yabeyabe lewa, finishing both activities within a week of the burial. The second pattern occurs when one mourning family joins one or more other mourning families to put on a larger combined occasion at a convenient time months after the burials. This matter will be discussed again at the conclusion of this chapter.

In order more clearly to understand the iwas (second memorial occasion) as another aspect of in-law obligations associated with a death, it will be instructive to outline its workings in relation to a single household.

The main function of the iwas is to acknowledge the women who came to wail for the deceased. Acknowledgement is in the form of cooked food; a pot of sago and a portion of uncooked pig are delivered to the house of each wailing woman. In the past, the names of the women were remembered and then recalled at the iwas. Today, the names are usually written down by a member of the host's lineage and then checked off so there will be no mistakes. The familiar material items are needed to

complete the iwas obligations of the hosting household to the community. These items are pigs, cooked pots of food, cooked sago, betelnuts, coconuts and trade foods.

A moderate iwas, then, comes some months after the death. Like the yabeyabe lewa, the host for an iwas is either the son or the sister's son of the deceased, depending on the situation. Whoever took care of the older person usually hosts these memorial occasions. Let us continue with our illustration of a son as the host. First, there is a vevegali announcement by the host. He announces the month of the iwas so that those people who have customary obligations to present items for the various activities of this occasion will know by what date they must obtain these items.

The vevegali announcement triggers activity. Obtaining pigs and other valuables is called lobobu. This term means simply "looking for pigs." It refers to the classic situation of sailing to another island and seeking to convince someone to release their pig for a specific occasion defined by the requestor. Lobobu is a broader way of phrasing the general activity of "requesting" (awanun). A successful vevegali announcer should be able to get people out onto the sea looking for pigs the very next day after the announcement. They should accept the challenge and come back from their sailing trip with pigs, valuables, and various necessary food items as well as betel.

The first vevegali announcement usually names the month of the intended activity. As time proceeds, the host begins to get a clearer idea of the sources of the food, the cash, and the pigs. He will then make another announcement. The second announcement names the day of the

activity and serves as a more specific warning to the presentors. They should now be ready for the day itself.

On the day before the actual distribution, members of the host's lineage and other community members build a platform for distributing and butchering the pigs. This platform is called pwasiu. The men who bring in the lumber and build the pwasiu will be fed by the host.

The presentations from the contributors are brought the day before and also on the same day that the distribution takes place. The timing of these presentations depends on how well the contributors have planned. If the deceased was a tanoak ("important" man), his surviving spouse leads a procession of her lineage people. She carries a wooden dish of piled, uncooked yams representing the head of the pig called bobu kokowana or bobu kowakowa. Behind the surviving spouse, young boys and men carry a pig. Following in line, two people carry five bundles of sago set on a long carrying pole. Then five bundles of coconuts set on another carrying pole are brought. These are followed by five pots of cooked food. There should also be five bundles of bananas. It is also appropriate here to offer 40 lb. bags of rice and large cartons of sugar. The items classed as bugul "things" (i.e., cooking ware and calico, etc.) are carried by people in the rear of the procession.

The terms of the pig's return are discussed directly after the presenting family arrives at the host's house. If the presentor wishes to make an extracrdinary gesture of benevolence, he can immediately kill the pig. This is a dramatic way of saying that this pig should be used immediately and the host need not worry about returning a pig to the presentor at this time. This is a gesture that in-laws aspire to make.

This is especially true for widowers at the death of their wives. They feel a greater debt because of the loss of a woman's labor to her lineage. Widowers refer to the speared pig as iova molana, "a woman's value," and do not desire to see the return. Spearing a pig or clubbing it in the lung in front of the host's house also means that the in-law wishes to share a host's responsibilities. He wants to let the host know that he, too, realizes the difficulties that the host has in obtaining enough pigs and food to distribute to the women who wailed and, hopefully, to the entire community.

If the pig is not killed on the spot, it is placed in a special "fence" (gana) that is made for the iwas. The presenting party is offered betelnut and for a time may sit and chat about the terms for a return of their items. The presentor may state that the pig can be disposed of in any way that the host chooses. He may, on the other hand, want to make the point clear that he would like a pig back from one of those coming in. He may have an occasion of his own to finance or some other obligation involving a pig coming soon. The host listens to the terms and agrees to whatever the presentor says. If he wants to clear the debt right way, he assures the presentor that out of the group of pigs that comes in, he will get the one that best matches his pig. This "matching" (tupa) is done according to the size and quality of the pigs.

The host must take into consideration a number of factors when he matches pigs. He must choose how many pigs it would be appropriate to kill on this day in order to fulfill the iwas obligation to feed as many as he can. A host must also consider his debts. How much vaga ("debt") can he afford now. Ideally, he should try to come out of this day's

affairs with as little debt as possible. Remember, Petueli cried in his vevegali announcement that he wanted no more debts after his death (see Introduction).

In today's scheduled life style where the people are discouraged from taking long sailing trips to obtain pigs, it is wise to leave as small a debt as possible. Thus, a host tries to kill as few pigs as possible so that most of the contributors receive a match for their pig promptly at the end of the day. The host and his lineage helpers discuss the matching possibilities at the side of the fence where the recently contributed pigs are placed. Sometimes intermediate discussions between the presentor and the contributors are needed to insure that the proposed match is a fair one and will be well received.

The "yams" that accompany all pig presentations (bobu kokowana) are returned by women just as at the yabeyabe lewa noted earlier. The same "wooden dish" (mwaha) is returned to its owner filled with the new yams.

The pigs that are chosen to be killed are first caught and hobbled. If the pig is not too big it will be killed by clubbing it in the lungs. The larger pigs are killed either by spearing through the eye to the brain or by cutting the throat with a knife. For boys this is a time for showing off and is a break in the "tedious" routine. The pigs are then set in place for burning off their hair.

Burning the pigs by piling dried coconut leaves on top of them is called bobu ton. This operation is a critical activity for each of the three male memorial occasions (yabeyabe lewa, iwas and soi). In the same way that digging in the ground is the critical operation that

represents the women's hagali, "burning pigs" (bobu ton) represents male memorial responsibilities. Whether an iwas is held directly after the burial along with the yabeyabe lewa (as noted above), or held some months after the death, the family of the dead individual will burn his sleeping mat and a piece of clothing with the pig selected for the occasion. Burning pigs is associated with burning items owned by the deceased.

After the burning, the pigs are washed with sea water and placed on the "platform" (pwasiu) for butchering. The pig that was brought by the surviving spouse's family should be one of those butchered for the iwas. As noted before, the in-laws can display their direct intent by dramatically killing the pig on the spot when it comes in as part of the mulimuli presentation. For the iwas occasion there is almost always more than one pig killed, even if it is an iwas hosted by one household.

There are certain cuts of the pig that are more prized than others. On all occasions when pigs are butchered and distributed the recipient remembers what piece he receives. An equal piece should be returned when the recipient has occasion to kill a pig. For the iwas, as noted before, the primary concern is to make sure all the women mourners receive a pot of food and a portion of pig. "Distributing the pork cuts" is called gabom and decisions concerning what piece should be given to whom are made by the elder men of the host's lineage.

Just as in the yabeyabe lewa outlined earlier, contributions of cooked food are a necessary part of the distribution. Women from all over the island volunteer to help the hosting household by offering a pot of cooked food. The women cook the food in their houses and deliver it to the host's house around mid-afternoon. The food is then set in a

house until time for the distribution and the delivery.

The distribution of the meat and food begins at sunset. There is always a rush to get things finished before darkness. The pots of food are taken out of the house (or houses) to which they were delivered. Each pot is then set in a long line on the path in front of the host's house. This gives the host and his colleagues a good idea of exactly how much food there is; and it is also a most impressive display of how many women came to help the hosting family complete their duties.

The pork cuts are ranked in the following order, from most valued to least valued.

Pork Cuts In Rank Order - Table 2

1. kaun ("head")
2. ulupuha ("rump")
3. awalaglaglag ("jaw")
4. sena ("stomach strip")
5. levaleva ("front leg")
6. nagil ("back leg")
7. lul ("rib")
8. patigelu ("neck and head meat")
9. dagulu ketala ("back")
10. sowal ("skin and stomach fat")
11. elel ("loin")
12. nua ("stomach strip")

The deceased's father's sisters' children receive one of the first three exceptional cuts. The deceased's in-laws should also receive one of these fine cuts. These people will then redistribute pieces of the meat among their family and friends. There is a considerable amount of meat and fat (which is preferred) on these first three pieces. A host tries to pay outstanding pork debts that he may have by returning an identical portion to his creditors. Another strategy is for the host to give a good piece of pork to someone that he knows is soon to kill a pig. The

host depends on this person to reciprocate. He is insuring that he will get a fine piece in the future. Important older men and women always receive a fine piece also. The host calls out each recipient's name and a young girl goes over to the pwasiu with a pot of food. She is given a piece of pig meat to deliver with the food. Boys carry heavy meat pieces.

Mourning women must be given pork first. Any guests that have arrived on the island because of the iwas or for any other reason must also be given a piece of pork and some food ahead of the rest of the Panaeati community. Distributions are most often made in order from one end of the island to the other. Beginning with the eastern end, each village is taken into consideration. My job was made easier because the people shared my concern with recording the village affiliation of the recipients of the food and pork. People from one end of the island did show a bit of chauvinism for their side. Thus, if the people on one end feel they are not going to be able to distribute food and meat to every mourning woman on the island, they will try to make sure that the other end of the island receives its portions first.

Compared with a soi or lobek (third memorial occasion), iwas food distributions are calm affairs. Traditional custom on Panaeati allows hosts to display a bit of vanity at these distributions. This privilege was usually reserved for "big men" on Panaeati -- the guiau men. While chest beating is somewhat played down in the contemporary situation on Panaeati, distributing food and pigs to as many people as possible is still the goal for which hosts strive. Distributing food and pigs at hosting occasions like an iwas is seen as an extension of a person's

moral duties to feed and to look after others. Traditional exhibitions have been readjusted to fit Methodist metaphors of generosity and goodwill for one's neighbors. Methodist mololu ideals reinforce Panaeati guiau ideals.

The measure of a good person has traditionally been, and most definitely still is today, how well he fulfills his responsibilities to feed the community. Public hosting occasions are opportunities for a host to draw the community's attention to himself. There is some reward for capturing the spotlight for a time. But memorial occasions are also rewarding on a deeper and more fundamental level than this. A son should host an iwas for his parents. This shows his deep respect for them. The iwas activities are sometimes financed by the deceased's lineage people. The third memorial occasion -- soi or lobek -- is a special responsibility for male children of the deceased, as noted earlier.

Sons are working to gain acknowledgement from their father's lineage people. Their reward for successfully completing the third memorial occasion for their deceased father is permission to return to the residential area of their father's people. According to the rules (and the pattern that we have been following in our illustration sequence), a deceased's wife and children leave the deceased's residence after his death. The family lives with their lineage people or with their in-laws. Decisions are based on situational conditions such as easy access to coconut plantations. Sons want someday to return to their father's residence area. In order to do this, they must finance a major memorial activity -- a soi.

Soi -- Residential Return

In this final section, we consider the third memorial occasion or soi and also the last major mourning duty of a surviving spouse (widow or widower). This last duty is another "pork fast" (bobu kokowan) that complements the fast by a young in-law noted in the chapter dealing with courtship and the beginning of married life.

Building a new house on his father's land marks the son's intention to make a soi on behalf of his deceased father. Before this building is started, two relatively minor operations are undertaken: reopening the deceased's garden land that was closed after his death, and taking down the deceased's old house that was abandoned. Opening the garden land again is a joint effort by a son and the deceased's lineage members. In the one land-opening occasion I witnessed, the son reopened a portion of land that was owned by the deceased's wife's lineage. The father had been granted permission to work the area and the son chose this piece of land to close after the father's death out of respect for the father.

The death had occurred several years earlier and the plantation land had not been touched. The coconuts had fallen and the undergrowth between the trees had grown thick. On this day, people were called to come and "help" the son by taking part in clearing the plantation of undergrowth and picking up the ripe nuts from the ground. The son asked the council and committeemen to announce in the morning meetings that he had planned this special occasion. People knew that food would be provided and also that a pig would be killed. Finding laborers for events involving food and, especially, pigs is always easy on Panaeati.

The son had completed a canoe transaction with people from Motorina Island and received cash and pigs that allowed him to supply a good share of the needed capital for this occasion. A second pig was provided by his wife's family who came from Pana Pom Pom Island across the lagoon. One of the pigs was cooked and given out to the men who came to work.

The men were fed when they completed their work at the end of the day. They sat in front of the son's house in groups according to their villages and were given cooked pork, pots of cooked food, cooked sago, moni, and betelnut. There were 42 pots of cooked food brought by women from all over the island. The workers ate 36 pots of food. The remainder of the food was left for the son's family to eat. The other pig was kept by the son.

The individuals making decisions concerning the food and pig distribution on this day were the son, his father's brothers, and his father's mother's brother. They worked together in distributing the food to the workers. Older men always take charge here for they have more experience in stretching the food and making sure that no one important is left out. The deceased's father's sisters' children received one of the prized sections of the uncooked pig along with cooked food and cooked sago. This entire event was neatly completed in one day.

"Taking down" a house abandoned after a death is called golekaleka, which means literally "clearing off" or "closing out." It is extremely difficult work. The house is taken down piece by piece with axes and

iron crowbars. The job can be completed in one day. The focal host is again the son of the deceased. He holds the primary responsibility for supplying the pig and for coordinating the activities for feeding the laborers. I witnessed two of these occasions during my stay. One was on Pana Pom Pom and the other on Panaeati. The occasion on Pana Pom Pom was undertaken by the brother of the deceased and the one on Panaeati by the deceased's son.

In the post-burial sequence, the opening of land is usually held at the iwas time except on those occasions when the host has chosen (or found it convenient) to hold the iwas directly after the burial. It should not be held before the first women's hagali. On one occasion with which I was closely involved, the surviving elder brother of a deceased woman closed a section of his betelnut area in honor of his sister. He decided to open the section of land directly after the hagali, which occurred three months after the death. On another occasion that I witnessed, a man closed a section of the shoreline as a memorial to his drowned son. The father opened the shorefront on the iwas day for his son. This iwas was held about one year after the son's death. In the post-burial sequence outlined in Table 1, I have set the opening of the land as Step 6, following the iwas.

Taking down a house (golekaleka) is Step 7. Golekaleka are not usually held until a son has an idea that he can finance his return to his father's place of residence. Abandoned houses are common on Panaeati. Taking down the house indicates that there will be a new house building associated with the soi or lobek. Step 8 in the post-burial sequence

encompasses the soi.

Completed canoes are the best convertible store of wealth that Panaeati people have with which to gain capital to finance economic ventures of real size such as a soi. The successful sale of a canoe can bring a considerable amount of cash, pigs, sago, and valuables to a future host. The nature of canoe payments -- where most of the goods are presented to the seller at predictable times -- makes it possible for a host to plan ahead. It is also very common for an individual on Panaeati to plan for a soi two to three years ahead as he goes about the slow-paced operations of financing the labor for a new canoe. At the conclusion of this chapter, I present a case illustrating how one man on Panaeati was able to convert his canoe presentation to a friend on Misima into the necessary material goods to finance a memorial occasion back on Panaeati.

An individual planning to make a soi in the coming year should involve as many people as possible in his plans. It will be to his advantage if he can convince other people to join him. The soi ideally involves the combined efforts of an entire village or, perhaps, many houses scattered throughout the island, as is common today. If the conditions seem right for one individual, he will then go about convincing others to go along with him and make their soi occasions at the same time.

The advantages to the combined feast making effort are numerous. There will be the most efficient use of labor if, at certain strategic times, the largest possible number of people are called into action. Large groups of people can leave the island together to seek pigs.

Each person visits his personal contacts (i.e., in-laws, relatives and friends) and soon the word is spreading swiftly all over the region that in a certain month Panaeati will be hosting the region.

The equation is clear to all. The more people coming to Panaeati, the more opportunities for each person to find someone with whom to deal. As noted in our earlier discussion of hosting and giving, the ideal situation for a massive feasting occasion occurs when all the houses on Panaeati are filled with guests and each person can be a host. This is a time when there is optimal opportunity "to request" (awanun) on a one-to-one basis. People can establish new friendships and make plans for future economic ventures.

There are considerable advantages to joint hosting efforts for hosts and for the community at large. For the hosts, there is a coordination of planning from the very beginning. Each soi host making the occasion for a father's death sets about planning and building his new house. By joining together, however, hosts consolidate the labor effort of the community. The hosts are also able to cut corners in financing these labor operations by sharing food and pigs when possible.

The first labor operation for the new houses involves cutting and carrying the support posts. This operation, called kokola, marks the actual beginning of the soi. The laborers are provided with food, sago, and a pig for this operation. Digging the holes for the posts in Panaeati's cement-like coral ground is difficult. This task involves killing a pig for each house that is worked on. House building can take a long time if a host does not have a reliable capital source. If he has arranged with someone to supply the needed pigs at certain times

(perhaps an in-law or a canoe buyer), and if the harvest season is abundant, house construction can be completed inside five months.

It is customary that the "roofing" (kivi) be a grand operation, for it signals the occupancy of the new house. People will try and coordinate it with roofings of other new houses in order to conserve labor time. Panaeati, with its poor supply of sago, often looks to Misima for the sago leaves needed for roofing. Joint sailing efforts for securing sago are often made by the several house builders. On the day of the kivi, there is one pig killed for each house that is being roofed.

It is typical for the kivi laborers to eat two times in one day. They will be fed tea and rice early in the work. When the work is completed, the familiar pattern of contributed cooked food appears again. Pots of food and uncooked pig pieces are delivered to the houses of the laborers and to the rest of the community, if possible. Hosts exchange exceptional sections of pork among themselves along with food and sago. They will repeat this pattern of exchange among themselves at the various distribution times involved in the soi activities.

After the kivi roofing, the next labor activity is the roof trimming. "Trimming" the overhanging sago leaves of the roof is called mwal bobu ("a promissory pig"). The family of the host has already occupied the new house. The mwal bobu occasion is a signal that the formal soi's pig killing will be held soon. Trimming the roof overhang involves no more than going around the house with a sharp knife and cutting so that the roof is evenly squared off. While the task is simple, the mwal bobu requires food and at least one pig. The mwal bobu usually includes an entire night of traditional drum beating and dancing. It is common today

to substitute all night hymn singing for the drumming and dancing. This would be the case if there had been a recent death and the mourning atmosphere had not been cleared away by an iwas. The dawn distribution of "things" (bugul) to the singers is done just as in a yabeyabe lewa activity. The usual pattern is for the host of the mwal bobu to make his soi in the following year.

The host may use the all night gathering to make a vevegali announcement of the coming soi. This vevegali (like the iwas situation) announces that people having obligations to the hosts should go out and find the needed items. In the next several months people sail off "seeking pigs" (lobobu). Word of the coming soi spreads throughout the region. Debts are cleared, if possible, and each person responds and presents something according to his personal obligation. In-laws, however, feel the sharp edge of the vevegali challenge once again. In our illustration, the families of the women who made the hagali presentations are now once again on the spot. The young bride in our illustration (i.e., the son's wife) keeps her own lineage informed of her husband's plans. Her brothers, her father (if healthy), and her MoBrs try to coordinate their efforts in order to make a major presentation to this young bride's husband's lineage. Their goal is to present five pigs at one time. It is then possible for the in-laws to honor their young woman by ceremonially dancing their way to the host's new house. This is not the usual mulimuli presentation but something much more dramatic and special.

A Special In-law Presentation; And Some Contemporary Adjustments

This dramatic ceremonial presentation by the in-laws is referred to as "the cutting of the mango branch" (kalehe hi gove). A mango branch is held by the lead male dancer of the young woman's lineage. He is dressed in a grass skirt and parades in front of the rest of the bride's lineage which follows carrying items for the presentation. The in-laws are decoratively dressed for this occasion. Women from the presenting lineage mark their faces with black decorative designs like the hagali decorations. They put on new grass skirts and place flowers in their hair. The young men of the lineage dance towards the host's new house. A child blows a conch shell (suki), announcing the procession.

The number five stands out again. Behind the lead male dancer carrying the mango shoot, five pigs are carried by young men. Behind the pigs, there are five bundles of sago strung on a carrying pole. Then come five coconut bundles, followed by five wooden dishes of yams representing the five "heads of the pigs" (bobu kokowana). After the yams come five "bundles" (haka) of bananas that are followed by five baskets filled with sweet potatoes. Continuing the procession, people carry five bundles of fire wood, five sleeping mats and, finally, assorted trade goods (calico, dishes, utensils, etc.). A man from the presenting group of in-laws carries a spear, called a gau. He yells and dances back and forth making lunging motions with his body. If this is the first kelehe presentation involving the young married couple, the man throws the spear onto the roof of the house signaling that the recipients are now in "debt" (vega) and are obliged to make a return kelehe presentation at a future soi. If this is a return of a previous kelehe

offered by the husband's people (on his behalf to the wife's people), the spear is thrown under the house symbolizing the "return" (mola).

Young boys from the bride's lineage carry a long "forked root" that is referred to as patatatal. One boy holds each end of the forked root and the third boy holds the shaft of the root. While the rest of the in-laws are dancing around the pig butchering platform, one of the host's (husband's) lineage cuts one of the forked sections and ties it to the platform. This remains on the platform for months, marking the respect that one lineage has for the other. The kelehe branch that the lead dancer carries is thrown onto the veranda of the new house.

This mango branch is picked up immediately by a member of the host's lineage. The leaves are bundled together and tied into a "package" (os) which is placed over the fire area and tied to the rafters of the host's deceased's son's) new house. The smoky fire preserves the bundle as a memorial to the deceased in whose name this soi is being given. This os "package" remains on the rafters of the son's new house until a soi is made for his death. The os honors the father and the efforts of his son.

The os mango package symbolizes the continuity between fathers and sons from one generation to the next. The continuity is demonstrated by a son's return to his father's residence site. Sons burn the os"package" that their fathers received years ago when they made sois for their fathers. Here again is the vivid three generation scheme that is familiar by now. Memories of deceased fathers form a patrilineal chain through time. New links are added and old ones are dropped at these soi occasions. A son's "burning the os" (gabagola) and returning to the

residence site of his deceased father reinforce the deceased's links in the patrilineal chain and, in turn, set the son's new link in place.

The in-law's dance around the pwasiu platform is called lauwoya. The in-laws take this opportunity to relay information about the young man (the host) who married their lineage woman. They characterize a young husband by their dancing. This is done with an air of humor. But there can be an important message communicated here too. Informants told me that it can happen that a warning message is sent to the in-law through the dance characterization and his (or her) family that this spouse had better shape up or separation could occur. If a young husband is lazy in his duties to his in-laws, some of the dancers may make mocking gestures of sleeping. If, on the other hand, the son is an industrious person, they characterize him as a worker. They may depict him gardening or they may (if he is a canoe maker) show him working on a canoe.

Kelehe presentations do not come as a surprise to the hosting family. Rumor of plans for such spreads through the community before the actual soi event. The hosting family can only react in the manner appropriate to receiving mulimuli presentations. They offer betel to the dancers. There is the usual discussion concerning the return of the pigs between the host and the representative of the family that brought in this display. It would be very unusual if the presenting family expected the return of all five pigs directly. As noted in the iwas discussion, one of the marks of in-law respect is for the in-law to take this opportunity to publicize the host's debt. He does this by killing one of the pigs when he arrives at the host's house. The pig is not

considered an immediate debt by the host. The "debt" (vaga) is remembered, but the host does not have to include it in his problems for this occasion. It is important to remember that the kelehe presentation is only one of many mulimuli presentations that are given to each host. The host still must "settle" (tupa) his pig transactions with the rest of these presentors.

The kelehe dance does not take a great deal of time. The dancers receive their betel and march back to their own village area. The yam piles that were associated with the five pigs are returned directly to the presenting family. They also receive an entire pig that is butchered and sent to them by the hosting lineage. This pig does not count towards cancelling the debt of the five pigs. It is tabulated separately.

Every soi does not have a kelehe presentation. The soi occasions are the only times when these presentations are made, however. The lengthy soi preparation period -- as much as a year -- gives the in-laws ample opportunity to organize their forces and obtain the necessary five pigs.

Ideally, soi occasions can last as long as a month. Visitors from the region come and stay for a long time at their hosts' homes. However, there is an increasing tendency today to shorten these celebrations to allow visitors to return to their home islands. This is the direction of contemporary council and committee planning noted earlier.

This pressure to shorten memorial and all traditional hosting occasions has affected the traditional soi pattern. Since 1944, Misima and Panaeati people have been purchasing cement and setting grave stones for the deaths that are honored by the soi. All soi occasions now

include this simenti addition. But some people have compressed the soi into a more limited activity that features the cement setting. This limited soi is called a simenti.

A simenti fits the contemporary scheduling scheme quite well. While these people still make major presentations of pigs and food and cash at a simenti, there is no traditional dancing for this new event. Because there is no traditional dancing for a simenti, a host can fulfill his responsibilities to make a third memorial occasion without waiting for someone to make an iwas to lift the community from the mourning burden of the most recent death. Panaeati allows killing pigs for a simenti if there is no dancing and drumming. They have made an adjustment to the rules that fits their contemporary scheduled life style. A simenti is a streamlined affair.

But people hosting these cement setting versions of the third memorial occasion also host some kind of all night assembly. Sometimes these assemblies are hymn-singing sessions or string-band dancing sessions. This modern dancing is acceptable and does not break the rules prohibiting traditional dancing and drumming. "Cement settings" (simenti) still involve a considerable capital outlay by a host. In the daytime there is a constant flow of presentations from in-laws and friends to the various hosting households. The material goods necessary for feeding masses of people must be kept in good supply. Much of this work is done by young people who must collect firewood, coconuts, and water in order to keep the hosting households secure. The important consideration, as noted earlier, is that outsiders should be fed immediately upon their arrival by their hosts. Blowing a conch shell signals

the hosting household that they must receive the visiting party. Visitors arriving by canoe are fed and taken care of until they leave the island.

The steps described for the iwas in which the pigs were butchered and distributed to the entire community along with food are also found in the soi and simenti. The true soi involves several independent hosting households, each with butchering platforms of their own. Each host tabulates the pigs that come to him and has the responsibility, just as in the iwas, to meet his contributor's terms. He must work out the optimum compromise between killing and distributing pigs and returning as many pigs as possible to the contributors. Hosts try to minimize their debts (vaga). This is often a very difficult thing to do.

Besides the mulimuli presentations from in-laws to each of the hosting households and the presentations from friends, the separate hosts exchange pigs among themselves. Each host tries to give a pig and, of course, yams (bobu kowakowa), to the other hosts. There is, then, a complicated series of exchanges in which the hosts alone take part. This is referred to as "confused presentations" or "mixed up presentations" and is called muli gewagewa. It refers to the pig exchanges among the hosts only. When there are a number of hosts, the term "confused" or "mixed-up" fits the situation well.

A son, following our sequence, has returned to the residence area of his father. He has achieved this residence return by his soi work. There is one more activity on behalf of his deceased father that must be completed however. The son and his mother are responsible for this activity that is called bobu kokowan. It involves breaking the absten-

tion from eating pork in which the mourning widow (or widower) has engaged since the death of her (or his) spouse.

A surviving spouse abstains from eating pork from the time of death until he (or she) obtains an exceptional pig to kill for one last presentation obligation. This presentation is similar to the hagali one and involves presenting a pig to the deceased's FaSiChi. There is a good deal of variation in the length of time from the death until the presentation is made. A tendency to streamline mourning obligations is evident here, too. Some "widows" (abuabu) and some "widowers" (sibauwa) present a pig long after the third occasion for the dead spouse has been completed. This is a more traditional pattern and means that the spouse will not eat pork for several years. Some people are released from their mourning burden quite soon after the death and long before the soi or simenti memorial occasions are performed. The critical factor here is the decision by the deceased's lineage elders. Sometimes they encourage the surviving spouse to complete the pig presentation as soon as he (or she) can obtain a pig appropriate for this event. They tell the surviving spouse's lineage people that they desire the mourning to be lifted early. On their part, the deceased's lineage people may compress several separate occasions into one. This streamlining also reflects a general trend to ease mourning duties associated with early times. In today's "Time of Light," the burdens of mourning should be lifted quickly according to many people.

The rudiments of the bobu kokowan are not complicated. The event itself is quite short and the exchange pattern is familiar. The surviving spouse and his (or her) lineage must first obtain an exceptional

pig. The pig should qualify as a hok -- huge, fat, and with tusks showing. On Panaeati these pigs are usually obtained as down payments involving promised Panaeati canoes. On other islands, these pigs cannot be obtained quite so easily unless the transaction involves the exchange of bagi for the pig. The more common pattern -- and another reason why the event usually occurs years after the death -- is for the surviving spouse to raise a fine pig for this specific occasion. On Panaeati, the trading leverage from a promised canoe is considerable and an exceptional pig can be swiftly obtained by tawanun "requesting." The Panaeati requestor mentions a canoe and a pig can be obtained as a down payment without difficulty. On Panaeati, the streamlined bobu kokowan pattern was always possible. However, informants state that large pigs are hard to find anytime. Moreover, contemporary sentiment about drawn-out mourning obligations contributes to the delay of this activity for some people. Thus, some people prefer to wait before breaking mourning.

The bobu kokowan complements the pork fast a man made at the beginning of his marriage. At that time, his father-in-law wiped his mouth with a piece of pork. The young man presented his father-in-law with a fine axeblade. Now, at the end of his married life, a husband receives an axeblade from his dead wife's father's sisters' children. Their representative wipes a surviving husband's face with pork and lifts from him his pork fast.

I witnessed two bobu kokowan. One was made by a surviving widow and one was made by a son for his dead mother. The first event occurred just three days after the death. The second occurred at the simenti occasion some years after the death of the man's mother. The first

event involved fewer persons than the second. The pattern of events, however, was the same.

The kokowan that the son held for his mother's death was a formal sit-down meal. Male members of the son's lineage and clan sat together with an elder male representative of the deceased's father's sisters' children's lineage. Just as in our example of the sit-down wedding dinner (that is becoming a new pattern for Panaeati marriages today), here also is the same new pattern of sitting together and eating. The meal was prepared by the deceased's son's wife and the female members of his lineage. First, the guests were served tea and rice. A bowl of cooked pork taken from the rear section was placed in front of the son by the deceased's father's sisters' child. This man took a piece of meat from the bowl and rubbed it around the mouth of the deceased's son. He then offered an axeblade that he took from his basket, saying that he wished he had a finer one to present. All people then ate for a second time. This was a more substantial meal consisting of pork, yams and sago moni.

At the other bobu kokowan people did not sit down and eat together. This was one of the events in a compressed or streamlined yabeyabe lewa - iwas - hagali - bobu kokowan series. A death occurred in the house of one of the councilors on Panaeati. This councilor was raised at the mission on Misima Island. He had been asked to come to Panaeati by the Panaeati people. They thought he would make a fine councilor because of his ease with Europeans and good command of English. The councilor's mother's brother lived on Panaeati. He thus had the right to live in the old man's residence area and work his lineage garden area. When the

old man died in the councilor's home after a long sickness, there was some pressure by the councilor to complete the customary obligations and lift the widow's mourning burdens as swiftly as possible. The "mourning air was cleared" by a yabeyabe lewa - iwas combined occasion two days after the death of the old man. The next day the councilor released his mother's brother's wife from her mourning burdens and granted her permission to present the hagali and the bobu kokowan as soon as possible. A pig was secured for the occasion and given to the old woman by her daughter's husband -- her in-laws. The pig was not the exceptional quality that is usually required. But the streamlining pressure dictated by the councilor (i.e., elder of the deceased's lineage) precluded finding an exceptional pig.

Word was sent by a representative of the deceased's father's sisters' children (who had come from Pana Pom Pom Island) that the pig that was available was adequate and would be accepted. Like the councilor, this person also felt that swift action was in order for these modern times. The widow led a procession from her house to a house on the residence area of the deceased's father's sister's children. The house was almost across the path from where the widow was staying. The widow carried a piled pot of uncooked yams in the fashion of a hagali presentation. This piled pot of yams is called sualeta. She climbed the ladder and entered the house, sitting down on the floor. She had been bathed and decorated. Her mourning skirts had already been cut. The hagali decorating operations were also included in this day's activities to ease the old woman's burden. She wore a new skirt and her face was marked in the festive manner described earlier.

The cooked rear portion of the pig was set on a platter before the old woman. Earlier the pig was presented to the deceased's father's sisters' children by the widow's lineage. A woman representing them came into the room where the widow sat. She took a piece of pork and rubbed the widow's mouth. This woman did not know what to say to the widow. She was old but she really was not schooled in the traditional pattern. This particular death was a very good example of the compression of traditional activities into the most workable pattern. Some people criticize this contemporary pattern as not being traditionally appropriate. Others point out that it is possible to fulfill the traditional Panaeati duties with this compressed schedule without sacrificing traditional values. They contend that people can still understand the rules and do a bit better than the remiss woman noted above who just did not know the right thing to say. People's traditional concerns have not been deflated by mission influence or by council influence.

Compressing several activities into one or substituting one activity for another (i.e., a simenti for a soi) only bend the traditional rules on Panaeati. They do not break them. While a simenti can substitute for a soi, a simenti host must still provide the pigs and other items necessary to complete this major memorial occasion. A host's in-laws, friends, and lineage contacts must still provide him with material support. People on Panaeati are still measured by their energy and industry, and by their ability to accumulate material goods. Moreover, Panaeati's rewards and the incentives for hosting and giving remain the same. Inheriting garden land and inheriting residence land motivates a married couple's hosting and giving ventures.

Next to land, owning a canoe is the most valued store of wealth that a man can have on Panaeati. In fact, canoes are the most valued convertible store of wealth that exists for these people. Presenting (or selling) a completed canoe is the surest way of obtaining the necessary material items to finance memorial occasions. Canoes have instrumental utility to Panaeati people's pragmatic concern for investing in their children's land security.

In the next chapter, the utility gained from making canoes and hosting labor sessions is examined. This utility is examined apart from the material gain from a completed canoe's presentation. Before discussing the economics of canoes, I offer an interesting illustration of how one man converted his canoe's sale into a memorial activity. This case provides a fitting end to this long discussion of memorial occasions and introduces an extensive discussion of canoe manufacture and trading.

In the following case study of how Dasa was able to convert the sale of a canoe into a memorial occasion, I was able to keep fairly good records of his activities because he kept me informed of his plans. I was also fortunate to make friends with Dasa's friend on Misima, named Gwama. In that way, I could go back and forth from Misima to Dasa and check certain things in my notes. I will present this material in chronological order.

Dasa's Canoe Sale and Simenti

On August 19, 1970, I went to Narian Village to talk with Gwama. He was hosting a party from Panaeati which had arrived bringing a canoe to present to Gwama. The people in Dasa's party coming from Panaeati were:

Name	Relation to Dasa	Name	Relation to Dasa
Laloma	FaSiSo	Lenadi	WiSiSo
Ganu	So		
Maika	SiHu	Robat	in-law?
Matiu	FaSiSo	Yosia	Robat's son

The people from Panaeati arrived on Narian on August 14, 1970 and stayed until August 22, 1970. The entire Panaeati party stayed at Gwama's house.

On August 31, 1970 Gwama told me the following story about how he actually first made the canoe transaction with his friend Dasa. He told me that he went to Panaeati in January 1970. Panaeati was holding a major soi at that time. He met his friend Dasa. Dasa asked him if he would like a canoe that was being made for him by his own friend on Panaeati.

On June 10, 1970, Dasa came to Narian, Misima with the canoe. He wanted to collect the first payment (howahowa). For this first payment, Gwama gave Dasa one pig and $25.00. The money came from the following sources: Gwama gave $11.00, his SiSo gave $10.00, and his Si gave $4.00. The pig was Gwama's.

The second arrival on August 14, 1970 was Dasa's second trip to Misima. He wanted to finish the deal with his friend. Gwama was ready for Dasa's arrival. They were able to complete the payment smoothly. Dasa stayed only eight days on Misima.

The following list is the record of the items that were presented to Dasa for his canoe. The contributor's relationship to Gwama is also noted when possible.

Items	No.	Relation to Gwama and contribution
Pigs	7	SiSo 1, Cwama 1, WiMoBr 1, SiSo 1, Br 1, MoBr 1.
Giam (axeblades)	2	WiBr 1, SiDaHu 1.
Cow		Gwama
Bagi (necklace)	3	Br 1, Br 1, WiBr 1.
Helagi (sleeping mats)	5	WiBr
Cash	$161.00	WiBr $17.00, WiBr $6.00, WiSo $2.00, SiDaHu $2.00, friend $2.00, MoBrSo $2.00, MoBrSo $2.00, from his lineage mates $95.00; the following contributors' relationships to Gwama are not known to me. Their contribution is listed below, however: $2.00, contributions given by 7 people, $1.00 contributions given by 9 people, $6.00 contribution given by one person.
Trade store items:		
(tin dishes, plates, utensils)	59 pieces	From 14 contributors
Garden foods	22 baskets	
Sage	53 bundles	
Cooked food	22 pots	
Rice bag	140 lbs.	WiBr.

The largest contributor helping Gwama was Rabaowa, his WiBr. This man gave Gwama $17.00, 1 bagi, 1 giam, 1 rice bag, 15 plates, 2 cups, 5 mats. Five of the seven pigs were killed and eaten during the festivities of the major canoe presentation. The cow was also killed and eaten at that time. The sago was not taken back to Panaeati until later. Dasa did take the remaining two pigs plus all the rest of the

items back with him to Panaeati on August 22, 1970.

I visited Dasa on September 21, 1970. He was making plans for a simenti in the near future. The canoe that he sold to Gwama represented this meeting. Dasa already had the following items: 3 pits (one from his MoBrSo and two from Gwama); 2 bags of cement (purchased at the Nivani trade store), 2 bags of rice (purchased at Misima trade store).

Dasa told me that someday he will return the favor that his friend on Panaeati did for him. This friend gave him the canoe to present to Gwama. Dasa wanted to make the memorial occasion for his mother and his friend is helping him in this venture by supplying the capital.

Dasa's mother died when he returned from Milne Bay in 1944. In that year, he was able to make the first and the second memorial occasions for her. The major soi event has not been made yet. Dasa wants to make it as soon as he can now that he has the goods from his canoe sale. He said that he wanted to make the simenti as soon as possible to take advantage of the abundant harvest this year.

On October 2, 1970, I went back to visit Gwama on Misima. I asked him what plans were being made on Misima to visit Panaeati for Dasa's simenti. He told me that at least two canoes from Narian were going to Panaeati. He told me that he gave Dasa an excellent payment for the canoe because it was not a large canoe. Dasa told Gwama to come to Panaeati and collect some more goods from him. The generous payment that Gwama gave to Dasa placed Dasa in Gwama's debt. I asked Gwama what he was going to bring to Panaeati. He told me that he would bring bananas and sago. Both of these items are part of the cance transaction.

Gwama told me that originally Dasa had written a letter to him

saying that he would like to collect the goods for his canoe as soon as he could. When Dasa arrived on Misima, August 14, he told his friend that he would like the payment presented just as soon as possible because he wanted to return to Panaeati quickly. Gwama told Dasa to wait for a week (which he did) while he went to his friends and relatives at Bwagaoia, Misima and collected some items.

On October 9, 1970, I visited Dasa again. We were going to talk further about plans for the coming simenti. Other people were joining Dasa and planning their memorial occasions at the same time. The chart below shows the names and relationship of the people joining Dasa.

Mala is making a simenti for his MoSi and for his MoMoMo. Laloma is making a simenti for his MoSi. Dasa also is making a simenti for the grave of his SiSo (along with his Mo). Esila is making a simenti for his Mo. There are four separate clans involved here. Ewau clan is represented by Mala and Laloma. Guau clan is represented by Dasa. Boioboio is represented by Esila. Dasa and Laloma are cross-cousins. Esila married a clan sister from Dasa's father's lineage. The ingredients for cooperation are excellent.

Dasa told me that he gave away two bagi that he brought home from Narian; one was given to a man from Motorina Island and the other was given to a man from Brooker Island. He also gave one of his pigs to the Brooker man. The Brooker man is giving a soi before Dasa. Dasa will go for his pig and collect the return. He will also try to get other things while he is at Brooker. When Dasa gave his bagi to the man from Motorina, he received two pigs in return.

On Dasa's return trip from Motorina Island he lost the pigs in a

tragic accident. The canoe tipped over. He went back and told the man from Motorina that he would like a third pig. He asked the man to bring the pig to Panaeati. He told the man that he would begin to make a canoe for him.

His wife's clanmate Dolo had already given him the following items for the coming occasion: 1 bag of cement, 1 pig, $2.00, 5 plates, 1 clay pot, 1 wooden bowl of yams and one garden basket. This man is the councilor for East Panaeati. He was paid at the council meeting and quickly purchased the cash items noted above.

Mala is making a jump over his own MoBr here. His MoMoBr (Petueli) is the elder and leader of Mala's lineage. Petueli and Mala work well together. Petueli said that for Mala's efforts, he will receive a good section of the lineage land to administrate. Tamiavin, Mala's MoBr, is not as active a person as Mala. Mala is also a cash worker and has just returned from a year's work at Nivani plantation. Mala had already obtained the following items: 1 pig from his WiMoMo; 1 40 lb. bag of rice and 56 lbs. of sugar both from his SiHu. He purchased 200 bricks for the grave setting at Misima.

Laloma, Dasa's MoBrSo, received 12 bundles of sago from Dasa along with 2 wooden bowls of yams. Dasa and Laloma have had a long-standing good exchange relationship. Dasa said that he will give a pig to Laloma when it is time for the platforms to be constructed for the simenti. This pig will be given without a return expected. Laloma said that he will soon go to Ewena, Misima to collect a pig that is owed him. A clanmate of Laloma's told him to come to Ewau for help (labe) when it is time for the simenti.

We ate a meal in Dasa's house. All the people making plans talked about the coming event. All the parties seemed to want to get the event going as soon as possible. Dasa gave Petueli $4.00 in cash to help Petueli buy cement. Petueli said that "this is the good way." "It is the way of the older people." He asked Dasa if this is a gift (mulolo) without a return payment involved. Dasa said that it was a gift. Petueli asked, "Is this a promise?" Dasa said that it was a promise. It seems that when Dasa's mother died she was buried in Ewau land by mistake. Dasa gave Petueli the $4.00 for the use of the land.

On October 14, 1970, two canoes arrived at Panaeati from Narian, Misima. Both crews from the two canoes stayed at Dasa's house. The date for the simenti is not yet set. People are waiting for a memorial occasion to be finished on Brooker Island before they put on the Panaeati occasion. Eight people came to Panaeati in a canoe named I Egon (He went away). This is the canoe that Dasa sold to Gwama. The canoe's cargo consisted of the following items: 11 bundles of sago, 6 bundles of bananas, 7 bundles of betelnut and 7 bundles of pepper, 7 baskets of food, 3 pumpkins. The people in the crew of I Egon were related to Gwama. They were his MoBrSo, MoBrSo, SiSo, SiDaHu, SiSo, So, Si, clan in-law, MoSiDa.

The second canoe from Narian is owned by Laso who is Gwama's WiSiHu. The name of the canoe is Ba Hot ("Tell the Truth"). This canoe was bringing goods for Esila. The cargo consisted of 5 bundles of sago, 3 baskets of food, 1 small parcel of betelnut and pepper. The crew of this canoe was Laso, Gwama (who did not sail his own canoe), Laso's MoBrSo, and a friend.

The Narian people came early because they wanted to help Dasa and the other people with the preparations for the occasion.

The platforms for Dasa's part of the combined simenti were built during the week of November 1 - 7. The labor for the project of building these platforms was organized by Dasa alone.

On the evening of November 13, 1970, I attended a meeting in the house of a man named Livinai. The memorial occasion had expanded to include two more people. These two people were making a small feast for the recent death of two infant children. Livinai was perhaps the most respected man in the community. He was not too old to engage in trading today. He possessed a store of knowledge and was rumored also to have some knowledge of sorcery. About thirty men were gathered in his house to decide how best to schedule the coming few weeks.

The problem was that there was pressing community-wide work to be done. The last two months were quite rainy. The people cut down the bush for the next year's gardens and waited for the drying period. They kept putting it off, however, and went about other tasks. In fact, they went to Brooker Island for three weeks of festivities associated with that island's memorial activities. Now it was already the middle of November and the gardens for the following year had not been cleared and planted. There was need for some real community-wide planning. Besides being a respected traditionalist, Livinai was an agricultural committee person designated by the councilors. The problem was how best to complete the agriculture work and when to schedule the memorial occasions.

Petueli represented the group of people with hosting plans. The

idea was to get this out of the way and to return the island to the pressing needs of planting the gardens. It was decided through considerable discussion that the feast should be held on Wednesday, November 17. This was agreeable to Petueli for he knew that all the hosts were ready for the killing and distributing of the pigs.

The following is a list of the material goods that were part of Dasa's simenti.

pigs: Dasa was given 10 pigs to work with by his in-laws and a friend (me). These pigs came from the following people:

a) 1 from his FaSiSo, Esila

b) 1 from a clanmate, Kala

c) 2 from his Wi clanmate, Dolo

d) 1 from ? in-law, Emli

e) 1 from SiSoWi, Demesi

f) 1 from his son, Ganu Ganu II

g) 1 from his MoBrSo, Laloma

h) 1 pig from me

Dasa "evened out" (i tupa) these pig presentations in the following way:

a) Kala was not given a return for his pig.

b) He returned one of Dolo's pigs to Dolo. Dolo's second pig went to his own MoFaSiDaHu (as a memorial presentation).

c) Emli received a match from one of Dasa's pigs.

d) Demesi received a matched pig from one of Dasa's pigs.

e) I received a match from one of Dasa's pigs.

f) Esila received a pig from Laloma.

g) Laloma received 2 pigs from Dasa.

h) Ganu Ganu II did not receive a pig in return.

Dasa killed and distributed two pigs on the simenti day itself (Kala's and his son's). All the other mulimuli in-law presentations were cleared. Note that he chose to be indebted to people who were closely related (i.e., his clan brother and his son).

Laloma gave the following items to Dasa: 11 plates, 1 dish, 1 bowl, 1 calico item, 14 lbs. of sugar, 1 40 lb. tin of Navy Bread, 5 clay pots.

Panasesa, Dasa's MoFaSiDa, gave Dasa the following items as holhol representation: 5 plates, 1 giam, 1 gabulita, 2 sleeping mats, 2 calico items.

Dasa's friend gave him the following goods: 5 sleeping mats, 1 small bundle of betel.

Dasa gave these goods to the people who presented him pigs:

To Kala -- 1 basket, 1 clay pot, 5 plates, 1 sleeping mat.

To Dolo -- 1 basket, 1 clay pot, 1 sleeping mat, 1 carton of sugar of 56 lbs., $2.00.

To Emli -- 1 basket, 1 clay pot, 5 plates, 1 sleeping mat, 1 bowl, 4 spoons.

To Demesi -- 1 basket, 1 clay pot, 1 sleeping mat, 4 plates, 3 spoons.

Dasa gave the following total items to people who came to an all night dancing session (string band music): 15 sleeping mats, 12 bowls, 13 spoons, 78 plates, 10 calico items.

The following is a list of the trade store items that were used during Dasa's simenti activities:

10 bags of rice @ 40 lbs. a bag

1 box of Navy Bread @ 50 lbs. a box

3 cartons of sugar @ 56 lbs. a carton

3 lbs. of tobacco

3 cases of tinned salmon

Dasa divided his two pigs so that he could give important people important pieces of pig. The pieces of pork are ranked from 1 the highest to less important pieces. Below is a list of the people that received pieces of pork from Dasa when he divided his two pigs.

Name	Relationship to Dasa	Piece	Rank
Panasesa	MoFaSiDa	rear	1.
Dolo	Clan SiHu	inside of head + neck	3.
Dolo	"	front skin + back	7.
Gwama	friend from Misima	head	2. or 3.
Sale	Gwama's SiSo from Misima	rib	4.
Devesi	from father's clan	thigh	5.
Ata	friend from Misima	rib	4.
Aiseia	MoSiSo	rib	4.
Esila	FaSiDaHu	front skin + neck	7.

When the Narian people left, they took the following items back to Misima: 20 clay pots, 33 plates, 14 spoons, 7 calico items, 11 forks. They also took 2 pigs.

Chapter V

Canoe Economics

In Chapter I, Panaeati islanders' material situation was described as rewarding. Panaeati people feel they are engaging in activities that are traditionally appropriate and are also congruent with their contemporary mission-and-council-influenced life-style. Most of these activities are related directly or indirectly to canoe building and trading. Canoe making and trading has been the backbone of Panaeati's economy since the beginning of the mission's influence in the Louisiade Archipelago. The consistent rewards to Panaeati people that their canoe complex has offered have perhaps, supplied them with the motivation to gain rather than lose from the vicissitudes of their recent history.

The changes in Panaeati's inter-island travel due to the council's influence have not adversely affected the success of Panaeati canoe traders. People have made functional adjustments to scheduling. They take ample advantage of the conveniences of dealing in cash when it is appropriate. Almost all Panaeati people's inter-island travel today is related to canoe transactions. These arrangements can be successfully carried out in the present-day situation of limited sailing.

In this chapter, canoe building and trading is examined in detail. The utility of the Panaeati canoe complex to Panaeati people is discussed from two vantage points. We stress the distinction between a builder's social rewards from generously hosting his canoe's labor

sessions and we also reinforce the point that Panaeati builders are pragmatic when they present completed canoes to buyers. The second reward involves the material goods obtained in exchange for a canoe. These goods are employed to finance the critical memorial occasions described in the last chapter.

Canoe Manufacturing

Canoe building is the most identifiable aspect of Panaeati social life. Visitors to Panaeati are struck immediately by this fact. Next to many of the houses on the beach front are canoes in the process of manufacture. One European visitor compared the long beach filled with canoes and canoe sheds to a shipyard. If the visitor could have walked into the "bush" (ulea) his comparison would have been reinforced. In the deep bush and also in the bush that is just in back of the houses there are clearings where the huge malauwi trees have been cut. The life of a canoe begins there.

In fact, the manufacturing life of a single canoe is divided into two parts. The first part is the "work in the bush" (ulea ana tualali). The second part involves the work that is done after the canoe hull is pulled from the bush. The work is then referred to as "beach work" (datu ana tualali). The beach work and the work in the bush are linked by the responsibility of the canoe builder to feed his laborers well. The people say that a canoe's reputation is based on how a builder "cared for" (matahikan) his laborers. People say if he did not feed people well while they were working on the canoe hull and the other operations involved in the early manufacturing steps in the bush, then he also will

not feed people well when they work at the beach. It is impossible to discuss Panaeati canoe building without also discussing a builder's lasting responsibilities.

When laborers come to work on one of their fellows' canoes, a builder spends his time managing the food preparations and other hosting duties. The laborers know the work and need little direction. If there is not enough food, a host's reputation suffers. Workers do not discuss the amount or the quality of the food (and other items) given to them while they are working. They will, however, review the day and gossip in the shelter of their homes.

This was also true in the building of the traditional waga hot. Calling people to work has always been referred to as asking for "help" (labe). People's help must be acknowledged. Help in the form of labor service is acknowledged by food and by returning the service at a future date. The transition to the contemporary sailau canoe has not changed things, as noted earlier. In fact, the amount needed to feed the laborers has been inflated since the times of the waga hot. People working today are fed twice a day instead of the traditional single meal. Workers today are given trade store foods -- rice, tea and sugar -- first. After this break, they work until the day's task is almost completed. Then, they are given another meal consisting of garden foods such as yams, taro and sago.

Table 1 describes the rules for building a traditional waga hot canoe. This table shows the building steps, the number of workers needed for each step, and the food that a host should give to these workers. This information was obtained from an older informant. The information

is appropriate for the mission period when this man was actively making canoes. Table 2 offers the same information obtained from a younger informant. Table 2 is appropriate for the contemporary sailau manufacturing situation on Panaeati. Table 1 is more complete because this informant and I had worked together before. He offered me an extremely complete outline of the building tasks. The major building differences between the two tables are summarized in Table 2 under the heading "Comparisons". By following this column, a reader can get some idea of the differences. It is also important to compare structural or building differences with investment differences.

What are the investment differences that the informants noted? Table 3 shows the total investments in consumable goods that a builder should give to his laborers. I found it difficult to calculate estimates for betel ingredients. I have not included these important items in my tables.

Table 1

Waga Hot Manufacture

Labor Step	Bush Work	Consumables	Days	Laborers
1. Govi	cutting the chosen tree for the hull	0	1	2
2. Go kilaha	strip off the branches	0	1	2
3. Kalavai	move the tree into working position	0	1	10
4. Hawan	chop out the inside of hull to rough form and shape roughly extension and outer form	1 large F[17], 1 Pweyahi[18]	1	12-15
5. Ketam and Vivihi	deeper shaping out the inside of the hull and shaping the sides	2 F, 1 M	1	12-15
6. Gobubum and Momol and Goiabalu	smooth out bottom, make a pathway, and pull hull from the bush to the beach	1 pig, 10 F, 5 M, 10 Sad	1	25-30
7. Bwala Waga Govi	cut tree for bottom 2 sides	0	1	2
8. Gutoma	same as #2 above	0	1	2
9. Kalavai	same as #3 above	0	1	10
10. Bwala Hawan and Sela	split log and cut bark side down making 1 side plank	1 F, 5 Sad	1	15-20

[17] Most of the foods have already come under discussion in earlier sections. Here, it is important to note that for certain operations specific items should accompany the host's distribution. Key: M = Moni (sago and oil); F = 1 pot of cooked food (yams); Sad = Sadua (1 stick of trade tobacco). Betel ingredients are very important consumables. It is difficult to calculate their use. I have not included them in the above list.

[18] Pweyahi: This is a sago flour pancake that is divided and given to the workers when the task of the day is complete. It used to be associated with food given after a death but has dropped out of the contemporary mourning scene as I witnessed activities.

Table 1 - continued

Labor Step	Bush Work	Consumables	Days	Laborers
11. Bwala Hawan and Sela	same as #10 for 2nd bottom/side plank	1 F, 5 Sad	1	15-20
12. Kalavai	carry bottom side planks from the bush to beach site	2 F, 2 M, 5 Sad, 1 pig	1	10-15
13. through 19. Bwala Hawahawan	same as #7 through #12 above, involving work for the middle or inside side plank			
20. Bwala Vavan Govi; and Kilaha[19]	cut top-most side tree down and strip the branches clear	0	1	2
21. Bwala Vavan Hawan and Kalavai	same as #10 - #12 above	1 M, 1 F	1	10-15

Labor Step	Beach Work	Consumables	Days	Laborers
22. Bwala Waga Tatawala	Adze work for bottom side planks	2 M, 2 F, 2 Sad	1	10
23. Bwala Hawahawan Tatawala	same as #22 for middle side plank	2 M, 2 F, 2 Sad	1	10
24. Bwala Vavan Tatawala	same as #22 for top side plank	0	1	1
25. Tumi Tumi Govi	cut endboards	1 Sad	1	4
26. Tabura Govi	cut breakwater	1 F, 1 Sad	1	4
27. Tumi Tumi Bon	shape endboards	1/2 Sad, 1 F	1	1

[19]This side plank is smaller than the other two side planks. It does require another malauwi tree, however. This is the third tree needed for a single canoe.

Table 1 - continued

Labor Step		Beach Work	Consumables	Days	Laborers
28.	Tabura Pon	shape breakwater	1/2 Sad, 1 F	1	1
29.	Tumi Tumi and Tabura Iaman	char endboards and breakwater to kill the wood	0	1	1
30.	Tumi Tumi and Tabura Binehik	set endboards and breakwater in sea for 2 weeks	0	1	1
31.	Tumi Tumi and Tabura Teli Sabwelu Eliana	set endboards and breakwater to dry in the sun	0	1	1
32.	Pawat	scoop out setting for the end	1 F, 1/2 Sad	1	2 spec.[20]
33.	Tumi Tumi Lali	set in place for fitting	0	1	1 spec.
34.	Lalata Ta Govi	cut grooves for side planks on the body of the hull	1 M, 1 F, 4 Sad[21]	1	7
35.	Gel Govi Govi	cut inside braces from malauwi branches	0	3 wks.[22]	1
36.	Enona Ta Pawat[23]	cut setting in hull for braces	1 M, 1 F, 4 Sad	1	7
37.	Gel Ta Gova Towa	set the 16 braces and switch them to find the best fit	3 F, 2 M, 4 Sad	1	15 spec.

[20] So far this is the first task that has required a specialist. (Spec. = specialist). These are men who just happen to be finer craftsmen than their fellows. This is an especially delicate operation and will affect the sailing balance of the canoe.

[21] Of the 4 sticks of tobacco, 2 are for each side of the canoe.

[22] Total time to complete this step.

[23] Steps 36, 43, 44, and 48 are associated with the knots binding the hull.

Table 1 - continued

Labor Step		Beach Work	Consumables	Days	Laborers
38.	Vaha	do preliminary setting of sides, establishing the bend of the sides	1 pig, 12 F, 7 M	1	20-25
39.	Vaha Muku Muku	fit and set sides in endboards again	5 F, 2 M, 2 Sad	1	15-20
40.	Papatal Palu	fit and set sides into hull and endboard grooves	2 F, 1 M, 2 Sad	1	5-8 spec.
41.	Gun Govi Govi	final hull adze work	5 F, 2 M, 3 Sad	1	18-20
42.	The endboards and the breakwater are now given to a carver. When the pieces are given to him, he is also given:		1 M, 1 F[24]		
43.	Bwala Ta Pawat	gouge out holes in the sides	2 F, 2 M[25] 1 Sad	1	8
44.	Gel Pawat	gouge out holes in braces	3 F, 2 M, 1 Sad	1	9
45.	Coax the carver along to finish		1 F, 1 M		
46.	Waga Maninina Ta Kel	carve keel ends of hull	1 M, 1 F	2	1 spec.
47.	Latalata	finish work on underbody of hull	1 M, 1 F	1	9
48.	Oliu	tie the knots holding sides to braces	8 F, 3 M, 3 Sad	1	20-30
49.	Ebal	caulking	2 pigs, 5 M, 20 F, 1 lb. Sad	1	30-40
50.	Muga	rub dried coral sea weed on hull to whiten	0	1	1 spec.

[24] There is usually a wait of about 2 months until the carver finishes. Actual working time is a matter of a few days.

[25] One pot for each side of the canoe.

Table 1 - continued

Labor Step		Beach Work	Consumables	Days	Laborers
51.	Sial	cut, carve, and char six bird figures to set on outrigger platform	0 (Part of carver's obligation along with endboards and breakwater)		
52.	Man	another bird object	0	same as #51	
53.	Selewa	give decorative piece from platform to breakwater to carver	0	same as #51	
54.	Kialu Govi	cut side booms	0	1	1
55.	Kialu Pawat	gouge holes for booms in sides and braces	0	1	1
56.	Kialu Palosola	fit booms through holes in sides	0	2-3	1
57.	Haliman Govi	cut float from the bush or find one in the sea	0	1	1-2
58.	Haliman Momol	pull the float to the beach	1 F	1	12
59.	Kunumovesa	shape the float	1 F	1	1-2
60.	Pwatoma	cut the 16 braces holding the platform to the outrigger float	1 F	1	5
61.	Ihiu	collect bark for lashings	0	1	3
62.	Mama Teli Hoga Eliana	place the bark in the sea to rot for 1 week	0	1	1
63.	Strip the bark from inside fibers and set fibers in sun for 1 day		0	1	1
64.	Twist the Mamal fibers into rope		0	1	1
65.	Set the 16 Pwatoma (vertical braces) into float		0	1	1
66.	Place the Kialu (booms) through holes in sides and tie them. Also set the inside outrigger platform Patapatal slats or planking		1 F	1	3

Table 1 - continued

Labor Step	Beach Work	Consumables	Days	Laborers
67.	Set the six *Sial* (bird figures), set remaining plankings	0	1	1
68.	Make the *Luwa Luwal* (ropes?)	0	30	1
69.	*Vaial Govi Ge Kalavai* cut and carry mast fron bush	0	1	2
70.	*Mwegan Hel Hel* sew the sail	6 F, 3 M[26]	1	12-15
71.	*Holvag* make rigging ropes	0	?[27]	1
72.	*Awa Mwegan Ana Lo* set the gaff and boom	0	1	3

[26]Three pots of food and one sago pot for each half of the sail, and one pot of sago for the middle section of the sail.

[27]This is a solitary work task that can take as long as a month to complete.

Table 2

Sailau Manufacture and Comparison to Waga Hot

Bush Work Labor Steps	Comparisons	Consumables	Days	Laborers
1. Govi	compressed here into one step,[28] see 2	0	1	2-3
2. Kalavai		1 Sad[29]	1	10
3. Hawan		1 F, 1 M, 2 R, 2 S, 3 Sad	1	15-20
4. Vivihi	two steps here, see 5	same as 3 above	1	15-20
5. Ketam		1 F, 1 R, 2 Sad, 1 S	1	8-10
6. Momol & Goiabalu		1 R, 2 Sad (for preparation of path) 1 pig, 20 F, 8 M, 5 R, 20 Sad, 6 S	1	25-30
7. Bwala waga govi		1 Sad	1	2-3
8. Bwala waga Kilaha & kalavai		1 Sad	1	6-10
9. Bwala waga patete		1 F, 1 M, 2 R, 2 S, 3 Sad	1-2	5-8
10. Vivihi & Kalavai	compressed into one step here, see 9	1-2 F, 2 R, 3 Sad, 1-2 S	1	10-15
11.- 14.	Same as 7-10 above for the bwala hawa-hawan (middle side plank)			

[28] Comparisons to Table 1 labor steps.

[29] Key: F = 1 pot of cooked yams and/or other root crops; M = moni (sago); 1 R = 5 lbs. rice, Sad = sadua (1 tobacco stick); 1 S = 2 lbs. sugar. Tea is difficult to calculate because it is made extremely weak. Where there is sugar, tea is served along with the rice as a beverage. Three sticks of tobacco are for the two ends and the middle of the canoe.

Table 2 - continued

Bush Work Labor Steps	Comparisons	Consumables	Days	Laborers
15. Vavan govi	see 20, 21 referring to the larger Waga Hot top side; compressed here into one step	1 F, 1 S, 1 R, 3 Sad	1	3-5

Beach Work Steps	Comparisons	Consumables	Days	Laborers
16. Bwala waga tatalaban		1 F, 1 S, 1 R, 3 Sad	1	10-15
17. Bwala hawahawan	same as 16 tatalaban	1 F, 1 S, 1 R, 3 Sad	1	10-15
18. Bwala tatawala		4 F, 6 Sad, 2-3 R, 1 M, 2 S	1	10-15
19. Bwala hawahawan tata		4 F, 6 Sad, 2-3 R, 1 M, 2 S	1	10-15
20. Gun govi govi	placed ahead, see 41	4 F, 6 Sad, 2-3 R, 1 M, 2 S	1	10-15
21. Leli or sesamweli	see 46, including 34	1 F, 1 R, 1 S[30]	1-2	1
22. Gel govi		0	3	1
23. Gel gova towa - tumi tumi	see 37	1 F, 1 M, 1 R, 1 Sad	1	8-10
24. Tumi tumi iali palu	see 33	0	1	1 spec.
25. Vaha		2 F, 1 M, 2 R, 3 Sad	1	25-30
26. Vaha plus tagatagahikan[31]	compare 39, 40, 43, 44, 48 - Note the advantage from nails	2 F, 1 M, 2 R, 3 Sad	1	25-30

[30] When the carver's work is finished, he receives 1 M and 1 F.

[31] Tagatagahikan refers to nailing.

Table 2 - continued

Beach Work Steps	Comparisons	Consumables	Days	Laborers
27.- same as 25 and 28. 26.		2 F, 1 M, 2 R, 3 Sad	1	25-30
29. Vavan vaha and tagatagahikan		1 F, 1 Sad, 1 R, 1 S	1	3
30. Kialu govi	see 54	0	1	1
31. Kialu palusola and kialu ta havahavan	same as steps 55 and 66	0	1	2
32. Loamam or patapatal	see 66 and 67	1 F, 1 M, 1 R, 3 Sad, 2 S	1	5-10
33. Haliman and tal tal		1 F, 1 M, 1 R, 3 Sad, 2 S	1	5-8
34. Haliman momol		4 F, 2 M, 3 R, 4 Sad, 2 S	1	10
35. Haliman tal tal	same as kunumovesa, 59	4 F, 2 M, 3 R, 4 Sad, 2 S; or 3 R only	1	5
36. Pwatoma teli		1-2 F, 2 R, 2 S, 1 M, 4 Sad	1	10
37. Pim Pim teti		0	1	1-2
38. Vaiyal govi		1 Sad	1	1
39. Iab Iab govi		0	1	2
40. Mwegan		$12.00-$20.00[32]	3	1 spec.
41. Ebal[33]		1-2 pigs, 20-30 F, 5-10 M, 1-2 lbs. Sad, 40-80 lbs. R, 30 lbs. S	1	40+

[32] This is the fee for the sewing and cutting of the canvas sail. It varies with the size of the sail and the worker names his price.

[33] Without the lashing knots, there is very little work involved in caulking the sailau. This is still a major food occasion, however. A pig is always killed for this step today.

Table 3

Waga Hot and Sailau Consumable Investments

BUSH

	Pigs	Sago	Food	Rice	Sugar	Tobacco
Waga Hot	2	15	21	0	0	37
Sailau	1	14	32	20	22	47

BEACH

	Pigs	Sago	Food	Rice	Sugar	Tobacco
Waga Hot	4	31	61	0	0	49
Sailau	1-2	22	61	31	25	52+

Table 3 indicates some interesting contemporary adjustments to the new scheduled routine on Panaeati. While a builder cannot compromise on the amount of food and other items he offers his laborers, he can economize on his time by offering fewer pigs and less sago today than waga hot builders offered their workers. Going to Misima or other islands to gather sago and to obtain pigs is time consuming and does not fit the contemporary Panaeati routine. Trade store goods purchased with cash have supplemented the traditional menu. Buying trade store goods takes less time than looking for pigs and sago. This adjustment to trade store goods also reflects a change in people's tastes. Panaeati people like tea, sugar, and tobacco, as noted earlier. A contemporary builder should please people in a manner that fits the times. But builders should not, ideally, substitute trade store foods for traditional garden foods. This is occasionally done, however. But it is poor etiquette to compromise continually. An exemplary builder substitutes trade store foods for only the smaller labor tasks.

Contemporary council scheduling has also affected the manufacturing process. People say that the "natural" flexibility in sailau construction facilitates a more convenient work schedule. It is possible to combine some of the separate sailau labor tasks into one long work session. This will be illustrated in later information given in Table 6. This tendency toward combining steps can be seen in Table 2.

For example, a builder today can complete all the separate side or stroke steps (i.e., cutting, cleaning, carrying two side planks from the bush to the beach) in one long workday. This option is open to a builder today. He cannot economize on his hosting duties when he

takes this option, however. In fact, he should offer his builders a pig for their long day's work. Along with a pig, he should offer a considerable amount of other food items; according to my informant he should offer: 3 pots of sago, 5-6 pots of foods, 5 pots of rice, 3 sticks of tobacco, betel, and 6 2-lb. packages of sugar for tea. This is a large outpouring of goods for a day's work. If he divides the side plank work into separate steps, he can get by without the pig investment.

In a similar manner, a builder today can combine the cutting, fitting, and setting of the canoe braces and the endboards into one labor operation. If he hosts this combined labor operation, the work is called gel iali. A builder is then obligated, ideally, to provide the following items per man for a labor group of about six men: 1 pot of food, 1 pot of rice, 1 stick of tobacco, betelnut and pepper. This operation would require that a specialist attend to fitting and balancing braces and the endboards.

Panaeati people sell shells or coconuts for cash. They do this more actively when they are planning a specific economic activity. People also work to advance their own economic activities. Canoe makers must have cash today. Shortly, I will show some cases of builders' cash investments. Builders work or borrow cash only when they need it. Copper nails and sail material are expensive. Most of the builders have to purchase these items even when they are building a canoe for a contract-friend. When a canoe is formally handed over to the friend, a builder should receive at least his cash investment back. This is also the case for pig investments. As will be noted later, younger

builders acknowledge the importance of cash in today's canoe complex.

A ward's weekly schedule is sometimes crowded, and it occasionally happens that builders must postpone their plans for certain labor steps because of pressing ward business. When a builder has secured the food and the cash for a specific task, he asks the local committeeman to fit his plans into the week's schedule. Most of the time, as noted earlier, this is really no problem for the committeeman. Builders do complain a bit about this scheduling. They refer back to the good times before the Council system when the only organization competing with individual canoe building was the mission. In those days, mission duties occupied only one or two days out of five. It is now convenient to get as much work as possible out of a single workday. The flexibility in the manufacture of sailau canoes is useful in today's busy life-style.

How much of the Panaeati pattern of making canoes and transferring them for valuables and foods is familiar to us from our western models of profit or gain? Canoes are made for presentation. Is "success" or "failure" simply a matter of subtracting a builder's investment cost from his return when his canoe is purchased? We consider these questions by referring back to Tables 1 and 2, illustrating waga hot and sailau manufacturing.

The food given to a labor group represents something that we can most definitely call "investment." The Panaeati metaphor for consumables given out to canoe laborers is "the things that the canoe eats" (bugul toto waga i anan). A canoe "builder" is better described as a labor group "host." As noted in Chapter I, feeding people is not a casual affair at any level of Panaeati social life. There are specific ideal

rules stating the appropriate amount and kind of food for each social event. This most definitely is the case for the labor steps in canoe manufacturing as noted in Tables 1 and 2.

If food given to the laborers is an investment, is the total amount of time that it takes to complete a canoe also a feature of investment? The total amount of time that it takes to complete a canoe is not calculated against anything else. I was never given reason to believe that the total amount of manufacturing time made any difference to a builder or to a prospective "buyer." There are few immediate opportunities that disappear without appearing again. Completed canoes do not depreciate. On the rare occasion that a buyer loses interest, a builder simply waits for another opportunity. Buyers and builders are "patient" (palahikan) with each other. The durability of the malauwi wood helps, and an unfinished hull can last up to five years in the bush if covered properly. The total amount of manufacturing time, then, is not really a major consideration in canoe economics. Whether the manufacturer finishes his canoe this year or next year, or whether the buyer obtains the needed goods to complete his transaction with the builder this year or next year is not a critical issue.

While over-all time is not so important to our discussion, specific step-by-step task organization and timing can be very important. I mentioned earlier that sailau builders frequently combine several steps into one workday. Informants commented that combining tasks does not allow a builder to feed his laborers less than he would for the separate tasks. In fact, a builder should offer a pig to his laborers for their longer service.

Some people build canoes in the manner indicated by the ideal pattern. These men feed their laborers in the appropriate manner. If a step requires a pig according to custom, these men find a pig and offer it to the labor group. Some men, on the other hand, compromise or economize. They try to get by with as little food as possible. A range of actual case illustrations of investment does not discredit the information in Tables 1 and 2. It places this information in proper perspective. Some men are exemplary hosts and others are just getting by.

A man who provides the appropriate amounts and kinds of food for his labor group (and for any group of people) is called "a person who looks for food for others" (tolokabwana). This is ideal hosting behavior. Tolokabwana is the "good person" (gamagal waiwaisana) on Panaeati. As noted earlier, a good person takes care of others by feeding them. This ideal person, as represented by a few outstanding individuals who feed others, is an exception. People know when they have been fed well; they also know when they have been hosted in a compromising manner.

There is a term for a compromising person also. He is referred to as tolobwagabwaga, "one who looks for nothing" or "a good for nothing." This is a person who only feeds people minimally. He tries to accomplish more with less effort. He is an economizer. This kind of person operates in a way that is more familiar to us. It is not surprising that this kind of host (i.e., the economizer) is criticized on Panaeati. Operating according to least cost when feeding and taking care of others is disrespectful and embarrassing. One should never call on others for help when unprepared to take care of them. A host's output in consum-

ables is an extremely important investment according to Panaeati cultural priorities. This fact must be kept clearly in mind if we are to understand properly the calculations for success and failure in canoe economics.

According to the people's conception of the canoe complex there are two separate returns that a builder receives for his canoe. First, there is the vivid return that comes when a canoe is exchanged for a variety of material items (such as pigs, foods, cash, and valuables). A builder's investment of food, cash and pigs is calculated against this return. There is also a second return that builders and others in the community take into consideration. This is the long-run return to a builder for abundantly feeding his laborers during the canoe's manufacture. A man who operates in the exemplary manner (i.e., tolokabwana) is making an investment in his future dealings with the community. His reward will come in the long run.

People remember how a host took care of them when a canoe was made in the bush and when it was being completed on the beach. A person who gives food to others consistently is investing in his own future. A "good person" (tolokabwana) should be able to borrow from his friends and relatives quite easily because he has shown them that he is the kind of person who meets his responsibilities. This is the ideal. However, in actual fact, a person cannot count on a specific return for his past giving and hosting investments. Therefore, a generous builder-host may receive a poor return for his canoe when he presents it to a buyer. Panaeati people are aware of this disappointing fact. But disappointments do not destroy the Panaeati ideal.

While a person who feeds his laborers well may not receive the best price for his canoe, he is still considered a good man in the long run by the Panaeati community. On the other hand, sometimes an economizer (tolobwagabwaga) receives a good price for his canoe. His good fortune is acknowledged, and, for a time, he is in the community spotlight. However, people still say that this fortunate individual will not fare so well in the long run. He will not be considered a person who can be trusted in awanun ("requesting") transactions. The equation for understanding Panaeati canoe economy is not simply a matter of balancing the immediate returns from the exchange of the completed product against the builder's material investment. Payment for a canoe, then, is not the only return for a generous builder. There is also a long-run return for the good builder-host (tolokabwana) that must be kept in mind. In the long run, a host's community rewards him by supp ting his other economic pursuits.

The key to understanding this dual return is in realizing that hosting canoe building is the focus of the entire island's attention. Completing a canoe takes two or three years and combines the activities and the planning of a man and a woman, and to some extent, their families. Canoe manufacturing and hosting is the aspect of a canoe's history that Panaeati people remember. The sale price is not long remembered by the community.

Who Are Today's Canoe Builders? And Why Are They Making Canoes?

So far, I have been discussing canoe making in very general terms. Tables 1 and 2 represent two informants' views of the rules for making

canoes. This discussion of the rules and the ideal patterns is a good starting point for understanding canoe economics. In order to show another aspect of the situation, I continue by examining actual cases of canoe building on Panaeati. I received a great deal of help in collecting information from others. The information in the following section was recorded by the local committeemen on Panaeati.

I asked the men to record in small notebooks the following information:

Builder's Name _____ Clan _____, Village _____

Canoe's Name _____

Terms for the canoe _____

What was the next labor step for the canoe _____

However, it often happens that an undecided builder is pressured into presenting his completed canoe to someone in his wife's family. All men should make at least one canoe for their wife's family. A canoe is a prized in-law presentation. Bridewealth terms have accounted for the majority of canoe presentations since before pacification. A canoe is metaphorically given as a "woman's worth" (iova molana).

Canoe payments are examined in detail in the next section. It is important to note here, however, that it is always difficult to insure that a builder will be satisfied with his wife's family's payment. A builder's hands are tied in this situation, for he cannot dictate the terms of the contract with his in-laws in the same way that he can with friends. Sometimes he is fortunate; and sometimes he is not.

The usual pattern for an undecided builder is to meet someone and establish a mutually satisfying arrangement. A Panaeati builder who

has established this kind of contract relationship can dictate most of the terms. With a friend, one can be obstinate and bold about the canoe payments. Young men must wait until they are older to engage in friend arrangements.

Builders' Ages

Age information is taken from my Panaeati island census. Some people received mission cards at their birth. Many people still had their "children's" cards. Some young adults remembered the year they were born. The majority of people middle-aged and older did not know their age. I estimated the age of these people.

Bridewealth and Contract Canoes

Table 4 indicates that a large number of people, regardless of age, know, efore it is finished, why they are building a canoe. Thirty-four out of forty-four men were able to tell me exactly why they were building a canoe. Ten men were still undecided about just where their canoe would go after it was completed. As will be noted below, these undecided men are not in a bad position at all in spite of their temporary indecision. From the table we note the following pattern: Eighteen people are sure that their canoe will be transferred to their wife's family as "bridewealth" (muliwagana: muli = "in-law," waga = "canoe," ana = its). Fifteen people have already made arrangements to build canoes for friends. Some of these buyers are from neighboring islands and some are from Panaeati. These are "friendships" (heliamau) between a builder and a person desiring a sailing canoe. I will refer to these

buyers as contract-friends.

A canoe is not only a mark of prestige, it is also a very sound investment. The canoes are good stores of wealth. They are valuable travel vessels and can be used to take advantage of trading opportunities in the region. Buyers can resell a canoe to another individual on exceptionally successful terms. There is always someone who wants a canoe. A wise Panaeati begins a new canoe before his completed one is transferred. The terms for the new canoe can be decided at any time.

Without exception the committeemen did a responsible job after they understood the task. I explained to them that I was interested in the progress of canoe manufacturing. I told them that I had some ideas but needed more examples. If I had more examples, it would be possible to draw more conclusions about the pacing and scheduling.

I was also interested in some basic questions: the age of builders today and the terms for building canoes. I wanted to know if there were a relationship between the age of the builder and the terms for building canoes.

I was given information on forty-four canoes that were being made or had just been completed. The information is summarized in Table 4. Age group breakdown is: Group A (20-30 years), Group B (31-40 years), Group C (41-50 years), Group D (51-60 years), Group E (over 60).

Table 4

Age Composition and Terms for Forty-four Canoes in Progress

Reason / Age	Bride-wealth (18) No.	Age	Contract (15) No.	Age	Undecided (10) No.	Age	Cross Cousin (1) No.	Age	Total Builders (44)
	7	Group A	1	Group A	3	Group A	0	Group A	11
	5	Group B	2	Group B	1	Group B	0	Group B	8
	5	Group C	8	Group C	4	Group C	0	Group C	17
	1	Group D	2	Group D	1	Group D	0	Group D	4
	0	Group E	2	Group E	1	Group E	1	Group E	4

Table 4 indicates that men of all ages take on the responsibilities of manufacturing canoes. As long as the men are physically capable of getting around in the bush and making an occasional sailing trip, they remain active participants in the canoe economy. Older men lose their taste for the discomforts of the open sea and much of the strenuous activity can be turned over to sons and to sisters' sons. The older men at home act mostly as advisors.

There is strong pressure for a young married man to make his first canoe for his wife's family, as noted earlier. According to Table 4, out of a total of eleven Group A young men, seven are already committed to making bridewealth canoes. There is some reason to predict that the three undecided men in Group A will ultimately transfer their canoes to their in-laws. One young man from Group A is making a canoe on contract terms.

Group B men show the same pattern as the younger men. Five out of eight (i.e., 62.5%) men are making their canoes for bridewealth reasons. They are still at an early stage in their marriage duties. They are obligated to present a canoe. It should be noted here that men ideally should make more than one canoe in their lives for bridewealth. Some elderly men made two or three canoes for their in-laws. These are exceptionally active and industrious men who are fortunately married to equally active and industrious in-laws.

Men in Group C are in the more mature years of their marriage. Most of these men have married children and married sisters' children. These men are more active in the economic affairs of the island than are the younger men in Groups A and B. They are sources for goods in

requesting transactions. They are also on the receiving end of in-law affairs. These men should already have made a canoe for their wives' families. They are free to enter contract arrangements with a friend.

In Group C, eight out of seventeen men (47.4%) are building canoes for contract-friends. For Groups A and B combined, nineteen (15.7%) are building canoes for contract friends. Five men from Group C (27.1%) stated that they were making bridewealth canoes. For Groups A and B combined, twelve out of nineteen (63.2%) gave bridewealth as a reason. Even if we assume all four of the undecided men in Age Group C will end up presenting their canoes as bridewealth (making the total bridewealth category nine men), the tendency is the same. Group C adult mature men are engaging in more contract transactions. Younger married men, on the other hand, are making canoes for their in-laws.

Builders in Group D (51-60 years old) and Group E (61-70 years old) show similar patterns. Here, of course, we are dealing with fewer men than was the case for the younger age groups. Fifty per cent of the men in Groups D and E said they were building their canoes for contract-friends. Only one man over 50 years old was building a canoe for bride-wealth reasons. One man in each age group was undecided about the terms for his canoe. As noted earlier, there is some reason to predict that these older men will be more free than their younger fellows to engage in contract transactions with friends. While a married man is never free from the respect obligations to his in-laws, it seems that older men have more choice in these matters. Table 5 clearly illustrates this pattern.

It seems, then, that they are doing just what we would expect given

what we know about the importance of in-law duties. Younger men are making canoes for their in-laws as bridewealth (muliwagana) and the older men are making canoes for friends according to contract terms. Other questions can now be asked.

Table 5

Canoe Builders' Ages and Their Transaction Terms
(i.e., Bridewealth or Contract)

	Terms	
	Bridewealth	Contract
Age Groups		
A, B	12	3
C, D, E	6	12

Total 43

Planning and Pacing: Canoe Building Strategy

If food is an important investment for Panaeati builders, is this importance borne out in the recorded facts? One way of approaching this question would be to look at the canoe manufacturing process and examine the pace of the progress. Is the pace of the canoe maker's progress controlled by the availability of the right kinds of foods? Table 6 supplies the information to answer this question. It was noted earlier that according to customary rules certain tasks require pigs and a large outpouring of food for the laborers. For the sailau, these "major tasks" are step 6, momol (pulling the unfinished hull from the bush to the beach) and step 41 (caulking the completed canoe body). Step 25, vaha (fitting the side planks onto the hull and braces) is also a critical labor step that often requires a pig, especially when all labor steps for the side planks are combined into one workday. It would be expected that builders would find it difficult to complete these "major tasks" because of the hosting requirements. If this is so, builders should be waiting for these three critical tasks more than for other tasks. How can we examine this proposition?

Table 6

Progress of Canoes at Three Check Points

	Name	Age	Ward	Terms	Time I 8/70	Time II 4/71	Time III 9/71
1.	Bathert	C[34]	Bwaganati	Bridewealth	10[36]	24	25
2.	John	C	Bwaganati	Bridewealth	41	completed	--
3.	Banian	A	Bwaganati	Bridewealth	2	6	--
4.	Saulo	D	Bwaganati	Undecided	20	--[37]	25
5.	Taio	C	Bwaganati	Undecided	2	4	5
6.	Taliai	?	Bwaganati	Contract	2	3	--
7.	Hassa	C	Bwaganati	Undecided	2	24	25
8.	Benoni	A	Bwaganati	Bridewealth (Sai Sai)[35]	2	6	--
9.	Levi II	A	Bwaganati	Bridewealth (Misima)	4	--	--
10.	Paul	A	Bwaganati	Undecided	20	gave incomplete to Brooker I.	--
11.	Dolo	C	Bwaganati	Undecided	4	completed	--
12.	Matthew	C	Bwaganati	Contract (Motorina)	31	--	completed
13.	Isikel	E	Mageau	Undecided (Misima)	4	--	5

[34] Refers to Age Groups which are the same as Table 4.

[35] When the canoe's destination is not Panaeati, the buyer's home island is in parentheses.

[36] Numbers refer to labor steps in Table 2.

[37] = same as at previous time check.

Table 6 - continued

	Name	Age	Ward	Terms	Time I 8/70	Time II 4/71	Time III 9/71
14.	Dapusi	C	Mageau	Contract	4	--	5
15.	Dapusi	C	Mageau	Undecided	5	--	--
16.	Mike	D	Mageau	Contract (Motorina)	41	--	--
17.	Keibi	B	Mageau	Bridewealth	25	26	35
18.	Esila	C	Mageau	Contract (Pana Pom Pom)	25	29	--
19.	Dasa	C	Mageau	Contract (Pana Pom Pom)	25	--	35
20.	Ebenisa	B	Mageau	Contrast (Pana Pom Pom)	6	--	--
21.	Bondo	C	Mageau	Contract (Pana Pom Pom)	6	20	--
22.	Isak	B	Mageau	Undecided	6	--	--
23.	Mala	C	Paluwaluwala	Bridewealth	20-22	26	35
24.	Kenet II	A	Paluwaluwala	Undecided	41	complete waiting for sail	completed
25.	Devesi	E	Paluwaluwala	Contract (Motorina)	completed	--	--
26.	Mala	C	Paluwaluwala	Contract (Motorina)	26	--	--
27.	Pololo	?	Paulwaluwala	Contract	41	--	35
28.	Emosi	A	Paluwaluwala	Bridewealth	complete waiting for sail	--	--
29.	Keiai	A	Paluwaluwala	Bridewealth	completed	--	--
30.	Demesi	B	Paluwaluwala	Bridewealth	6	--	--
31.	Meibia	A	Paluwaluwala	Bridewealth	6	--	--

Table 6 - continued

	Name	Age	Ward	Terms	Time I 8/70	Time II 4/71	Time III 9/71
32.	Iaia	A	Namati	Undecided	23	26	41
33.	Dankin	C	Namati	Bridewealth	26	completed	--
34.	Sigi	C	Namati	Bridewealth	6	26	completed
35.	Maleko	E	Namati	Cross-Cousin	completed	--	--
36.	Tokowaga	B	Namati	Bridewealth (Brooker)	35	completed	--
37.	Sigi	C	Namati	Contract	26	--	--
38.	Puilala	E	Namati	Undecided	26	completed	--
39.	Daniel[38]	B	Namati	Bridewealth	26	--	29
40.	Itapifa	B	Namati	Bridewealth	21	26	completed
41.	Jakob	C	Miteli	Bridewealth	19	24	41
42.	Daleibo	E	Miteli	Contract	19	24	--
43.	Pitalai	E	Miteli	Bridewealth	23	35	--
44.	John	A	Siakeu	Bridewealth	26	29	41
45.	Joe	E	Siakeu	Contract (Misima)	4	6	--
46.	Ata	A	Siakeu	Contract (Misima)	41	completed	--
47.	Vahin	C	Nulia	Contract	5	6	9
48.	Kalobu	A	Nulia	Undecided	6	--	9

[38] A medical orderly employed at Misima who is having a canoe built on Panaeati.

Table 6 gives us complete information about the progress of all canoe builders noted in Tables 4 and 5, plus one other builder. In order to note the progress of canoe builders, I made three checks on them while I was living on Panaeati. I went to the committeemen and asked them at what labor step each builder had stopped.

My first check point (i.e., Time I) was in the middle of August, 1970. This was toward the end of the season when food is abundant and community work proceeds smoothly. Out of the total of forty-five canoes in progress, ten (22.2%) canoes were waiting for either momol (i.e., step 6) or ebal (i.e., step 41). These are the two major steps requiring large outpourings of food and a pig. If we include people who are waiting for vaha (i.e., step 25), nineteen out of forty-five builders (42.2%) were held up at one of these three major labor steps.

How long do builders have to wait until they can complete the task? Another way of posing this question would be to ask, "how long does it take to obtain the needed food items to finance a major labor step?" By noting how many of the nineteen builders were still stuck at the same labor step in April, 1971, we get some idea of how builders were progressing.

In April, 1971 (i.e., Time II), ten (52.6%) of the nineteen canoe builders had not completed the labor step that was imminent several months earlier at Time I. The time period between Time I and Time II encompassed the months of the year that are short of food. The pace of all community hosting activities slows during these months. It would be wise, then, to include another check point in order to cover the food months (i.e., April to September).

My third time check was made in early September, 1971. Note that six builders (31.5%) out of the original group of nineteen "stalled" builders were waiting for the same labor step at Time III as at Time I. In other words, after one complete year, roughly one-third of the builders made no progress on their canoes. Table 7 below summarizes the progress of these nineteen builders at the three check points in time. To repeat, our interest is to illustrate clearly whether the hosting requirements of the major steps (i.e., ebal, momol, and vaha) keep builders from continuing their work.

From the table and the discussion above, it is evident that builders have difficulties passing these critical labor steps. While there is no immediate reward in finishing a canoe quickly, all builders try to move along through the building process. Builders do get "sidetracked" by competing economic obligations. This could partly account for the tendency to stall at the major labor steps.

Table 7

Progress of Nineteen Canoe Builders at Three Check Points

Labor	Step	Times: Number of Builders at Time I (8/70)	Number of Builders at Time II (4/71)	Number of Builders at Time III (9/71)
#41	ebal	4	1	1
# 6	momol	6	5	5
#25	vaha	9	4	2
		19	10	6

Time I to Time II progress = 19-10 = 9 or 47.3% progressed

Time II to Time III progress = 10-6 = 4 or 40.0% progressed

Time I to Time III progress = 19-6 =13 or 68.5% progressed

A pig destined for a labor operation sometimes ends up being presented for another purpose. However, it is simply difficult to obtain pigs, cash and sago for any reason (i.e., canoe building or general building). Difficulty in obtaining these critical items represents the fundamental obstacle preventing builders from smoothly completing their canoes inside of a year.

How do builders circumvent this problem? Returning to Table 6, examine each ward. Note that a number of builders living in the same ward show a tendency to be at the same labor step. For example, in Mageau, there are a total of ten men making canoes. At Time I, three of these builders were waiting for the momol step. One man alone was waiting for the ebal labor step. Three men were waiting for the vaha step. Two builders in Mageau were working on the same task. This task was not a major labor step. Thus, out of all Mageau builders, there was a strong tendency (i.e., eight out of ten) for builders to work at the same task at the same time.

This tendency for neighboring builders to cluster labor steps is also found in other residence areas. For Namati, four out of eight builders are waiting for the vaha step. For Paluwaluwala's seven builders the situation is similar. At Time I, two canoes were waiting for the momol step and two canoe builders were waiting for the ebal step. For the Miteli-Siakeu builders, there is no tendency to cluster major labor steps for the first time check. Two builders, however, are at the same minor step. These two men then moved to the same step at Time II, and they also moved together a third time. Both were waiting together for the ebal step at Time III when I made my last check.

The two builders from Nulia show the same pattern of moving together. While each of these builders began at a different labor step at Time I, both are at the momol step at Time II. At Time III, they are at the same minor labor step. Canoe makers from the same hamlet coordinate labor tasks. They work together in small groups of two or three. This tendency for neighbors to pass from step to step in small groups is revealed very clearly in Table 6. Clustering of labor tasks reveals something about the way builders plan.

Why would canoe builders-hosts try to coordinate their labor? People living in the same residential area coordinate many social activities. These neighbors are usually relatives. Married brothers who live together in separate households in the same residential area oftentimes share labor pools for gardening and for sailing ventures. It is not surprising, then, that they should also coordinate canoe building activities.

Gathering the food items and coordinating the cooking and other chores is a lot of work. Neighbors share some of these duties. An individual builder-host and his wife, however, carry the primary responsibility for providing the needed food items. But no one enjoys unnecessary labor. Combining labor efforts with another, neighboring household is the most efficient strategy for accomplishing tedious tasks. For example, sailing to another island can involve the combined interests of two (or three) builder-hosts quite efficiently. Here builder-hosts are maximizing the labor involved in amassing a crew, borrowing a canoe, sailing. When the builders sail to obtain sago at Misima, they usually make the sago themselves. Combining the needs of more than one canoe

builder in this situation is the most efficient use of labor. Most hosting preparations are also smoothly accomplished with the cooperation of a large work force.

Combining two or three builders' major labor tasks (i.e., step 6, step 41, and step 25) is an efficient use of food and labor. It is possible for the same large group of workers (i.e., 40 or 50 men) to haul two or three canoes from the bush in one long workday. In a situation like this, there should be a pig killed for each canoe. Shortly, however, we will note that some builders may "take advantage" of the combined hosting chores. They include their canoe's major labor step "under the umbrella" of another builder's generosity. As noted above, economizers are poor hosts and try to reduce their costs at another's expense.

These combined canoe sessions are island-wide special days. There should be enough traditional food (yams, sago and pork) for each household in the host's hamlet, and ideally, enough for the entire island. A combined canoe labor session resembles the end of a memorial occasion day. Food contributions from the women are delivered to the hosts at the end of the workday. The laborers also receive rice and tea during the workday. They eat twice.

Coordinating the efforts of two or three households for canoe manufacturing is the most efficient manner to achieve each host's goal. The goal, noted earlier several times, is to feed and care for as many people as possible. Combining people's efforts in obtaining and preparing the food are not short-cuts to this goal. It is the surest way to feed the most people in the most appropriate manner. If each builder

fulfills his personal obligations to provide for the community, all people should find the day's activities rewarding.

Questionnaire Information

In order to obtain information about completed canoes, I devised a questionnaire. I presented the questionnaire personally to forty households (one-third of the total number of households on Panaeati). At the conclusion of my survey, I had information about forty-five canoes -- ten waga hot and forty-five sailau.

From the questionnaire, information about the age distribution of Panaeati canoe builders can be obtained. Other questions were also asked. How many canoes had a person made in his lifetime? How long did it take a person to complete his canoe? Did the transaction terms for the canoe affect the over-all building and presentation time?

Table 8 shows the age distribution of the people interviewed. Of the forty married men interviewed, twenty-six had built at least one canoe in their lives. There is an inverse relationship between the builder's age and the number of canoes built. This was predictable from our earlier remarks concerning the difficulties that young married men have initiating their personal economic enterprises. It takes a few years for a young man to begin to take an active part in canoe building. Thus, there is an abrupt increase in canoe building for the Group B through Group E men. When a man reaches his later middle age (i.e., Group C), he should have already made at least one canoe.

Table 8

Age Distribution and Number of Canoes Built

N = 40 households

	Age Group	Total Interviewed	Number of People Who Built a Canoe	Percentage of Total Interviewed	Sailau	Waga Hot
A.	(20-30 years)	8	2	25%	2	0
B.	(31-40 years)	5	3	60%	7	0
C.	(41-50 years)	10	7	70%	21	3
D.	(51-60 years)	11	10	91%	13	5
E.	(over 60 years)	6	4	67%	2	2
		40	26		45	10

How Long Does It Take to Complete a Canoe?

Table 6 supplied information about the pace of contemporary canoe building. But many of the canoes noted in Table 6 were not completed during my stay on Panaeati. The questionnaire is more than a slice of time. Now we have complete canoe histories. The average building and transfer time for forty-six sailau is 1.08 years. Thus, it is possible to complete the building and the transfer inside of two full food seasons (i.e., the months between April and September). The pattern seems to be that a builder begins a canoe during the first food season and completes it toward the end of the second food season. He takes advantage of two food seasons.

I have complete building data for ten of the eleven waga hot cases in the questionnaire. The average building and transfer time for the ten traditional waga hot is 2.4 years. It is important to note also that none of these waga hot canoes were made in less than two full food seasons. Thus, it can be concluded from these data that sailau canoes are being made in a shorter time than the traditional waga hot. This is not surprising considering earlier remarks about flexibility in the construction of the contemporar model.

Do The Canoe's Transaction Terms Affect the Over-all Building Time?.

While building a canoe is the primary responsibility of a builder-host and his wife, a buyer should take an active part in supplying the needed material items to support the canoe's manufacture. Generalizations here are difficult. I noted earlier that most builders have an

idea where their canoe will go before they begin manufacture. Buyers are easy to find. An exceptionally industrious person keeps making canoes one after another. Terms are easily manipulated. Some canoes start as bridewealth and end up going to a friend. An energetic person always has a number of options open to him if he can keep making canoes.

There is a tendency for people on Panaeati to expect more help from buyers who are contract-friends than from in-laws. The expected pattern is for builders to keep buyers informed of the building progress. A builder feels freer to approach a contract-friend than an in-law buyer. There is less shame involved in approaching a friend. A builder who has a contract-friend should be able to finish his canoe swiftly. Ideally, in- aws should share the responsibility for building a bridewealth canoe for a daughter or sister's daughter, but informants state that they are less sure of financial help from in-law buyers. There is reason to examine the questionnaire data with these remarks in focus. If it is easier to deal with friends than in-laws, would this difference be reflected in the amount of time it takes to complete a canoe?

The following figures about canoe terms are found in an inspection of my questionnaire: Twenty-four sailau were made for bridewealth (muliwagana) reasons. Fifteen sailau were made for contract-friends. Two sailau were made for cross-cousins. Seven out of the ten waga hot were made for bridewealth reasons. The remaining three waga hot were made for contract-friends.

Table 9 is a four-celled table showing building time and the reasons for building the canoes (i.e., the terms). We are concerned here only with bridewealth terms and contract-friendship terms.

I have separated canoes that took less than two years to complete from those that took two years and longer to complete. Table 10 deals with the same topic. I have changed the axis on this table, however. Canoes built in two years and less are separated from canoes built in three or more years.

Table 9

Over-All Building Time and Terms for Sailau and Waga Hot Canoes

Terms		Time: less than 2 years	Time: 2 years and longer	
Bride-wealth		7	23	Sailau
		0	7	Waga Hot
Contract		9	6	Sailau
		0	3	Waga Hot

Chi-Square = 2.394 (not significant)

Table 10

Over-All Building Time and Terms for Sailau and Waga Hot Canoes

Terms		Time: 3 years and less	Time: 3 or more years	
Bride-wealth		18	7	Sailau
		5	3	Waga Hot
Contract		16	1	Sailau
		2	0	Waga Hot

Table 9 is summarized below:

Twenty-three (76.6%) of a total of thirty sailau made for bridewealth terms took longer than the average 1.08 years to complete. For the fifteen contracted canoes, nine (60%) were completed in less than two years. When the ten waga hot cases are included, 30 out of 37 (80.9%) canoes of both types made under bridewealth terms took two or more years to complete. Chi square results, however, are not significant.

In Table 10, canoes made in two years or less are separated from those made in three years and more. The tendency for bridewealth canoes to be completed in a longer period of time than contract canoes is apparent. Out of twenty-five bridewealth sailau, seven (28%) were completed in three years or more. Out of seventeen contracted canoes all but one were finished in two years or less. While bridewealth canoes do seem to take longer to complete than canoes made under contract-friend terms, both in-laws and friends change their minds. Unpredictable circumstances conflict with their obligations to share canoe manufacture costs with a builder. Building a canoe is a long and involved process. A builder cannot rely on another individual to carry the responsibility for him. A builder who is set on completing his canoe needs other borrowing sources such as lineage mates, other in-laws, or friends. Most builders try to keep building whether or not the buyer shares building costs. While they build, they tally the pigs and cash that are put into the manufacture of the canoe.

When a canoe is completed, a message is sent to the buyer. At the time of a completed canoe's exchange for valuables, foods, cash, and

trade store items, a builder publicly announces a challenge to the buyer. Part of his challenge includes announcing his personal investment in pigs and cash. A buyer's reputation as a good person is on the line. The pressure for contract-friends to equal and exceed a builder's investment is much greater than the pressure felt by in-laws receiving a canoe as bridewealth.

Builder's Investments

I now examine specific building investments. It is also possible to compare this with the information about the "expected investments" (i.e., what people should invest in their canoes) found in Tables 1 and 2. I have data on forty-five completed sailau and eleven waga hot. All fifty-six canoe building investments are averaged for each decade in Table 11.

Table 11

Builders' Investments and
Terms for Canoe Transactions

Up to 1949					1950-1959				
Case No.	Canoe Type	Pigs	Cash	Terms	Case No.	Canoe Type	Pigs	Cash	Terms
1.	waga hot	2	$12	B[39]	1.	sailau	2	$32	B
2.	waga hot	2	10	B	2.	sailau	3	21	B
3.	waga hot	3	6	B	3.	sailau	2	52	B
4.	waga hot	1	0	C	4.	sailau	1	20	C
5.	waga hot	3	2	C	5.	waga hot	5	26	B
6.	waga hot	1	4	C	6.	sailau	3	104	B
7.	waga hot	6	6	B	7.	sailau	2	10	C
8.	waga hot	2	1	B	8.	sailau	3	18	Cross Cousin
9.	waga hot	2	1	B	9.	sailau	3	10	B
10.	sailau	2	32	B	10.	sailau	2	24	C
11.	sailau	1	34	C	11.	sailau	3	18	C
					12.	waga hot	3	0	C
	Average	2.3	$9.8		13.	sailau	0	0	C
					14.	sailau	2	86	B
					15.	sailau	2	72	B
					16.	sailau	0	6	C
					17.	sailau	2	72	B
					18.	sailau	1	8	B
						Average	2.2	$32.2	

[39] B = Bridewealth
C = Contract

Table 11 - continued

1960 - 1969

Case No.	Canoe Type	Pigs	Cash	Terms	Case No.	Canoe Type	Pigs	Cash	Terms
1.	sailau	3	$?[40]	B	11.	sailau	1	$74	B
2.	sailau	1	30	B	12.	sailau	2	10	B
3.	sailau	3	?	B	13.	sailau	4	14	B
4.	sailau	3	14	B	14.	sailau	2	46	C
5.	sailau	2	24	C	15.	sailau	3	12	B
6.	sailau	5	50	B	16.	sailau	3	50	C
7.	sailau	3	?	B	17.	sailau	0	14	C
8.	sailau	2	?	C	18.	sailau	4	34	B
9.	sailau	3	10	B	19.	sailau	2	?	B
10.	sailau	2	?	C		Average	2.5	$29.4	

Summary of Table 11

		Cash	Pigs
up to 1949	Bride	$ 9.7	2.7
	Contract	10.0	1.5
1950-1959	Bride	48.9	2.5
	Contract	11.1	1.5
1960-1969	Bride	27.55	2.8
	Contract	33.50	1.8

[40] Incomplete data; not included in averages.

Informants remembered the pig investments quite well. Their memories concerning cash investments were less accurate, however. The average number of pigs killed for sailau manufacture is 2.1 pigs for each completed canoe. From Table 2, it was noted that people should invest two to three pigs for a sailau. The range of pig investments is from zero to five pigs. Informants commented that the three canoes made without pig investments were small canoes that allowed the builder to do most of the work.

For the eleven waga hot cases, builders invested an average of 2.7 pigs for each canoe. This compares quite well with an expected minimum of two pigs for a traditional waga hot from Table 1. It should be noted that for all waga hot at least one pig was invested by the manufacturer. The range for a waga hot is from one to six pigs. What about a builder's cash investment? Data from the questionnaire are reliable for only forty completed sailau and waga hot canoes. Some informants could not remember (or would not) just how much money they put into the manufacture of the canoe. It is convenient to examine cash investment along with the year that the canoe was made. Are the investments during the 1950's different from those of the 1940's or the 1960's?

Table 11 lists builders' pig and cash investments. I have listed the data according to the decade in which the canoes were made. At the bottom of each column, the average investment has been calculated. I have also listed the terms for the canoe transaction. The cross-cousin case has also been included. At the bottom of Table 11, I have summarized the data according to the average investments for the terms of

the canoe transaction. The summary is also grouped by decade.

For the ten cases of canoes built earlier than 1950, the average cash investment was $10.08. During the 1950's, the average cash investment was $32.08 per canoe for twenty-one cases. From 1961 to 1970, the average cash investment was $30.00 (N = 12). A few of these figures represent builders' investments in trade foods plus copper nails and sail material. The price of copper nails and sail material together has been at least $50.00. Out of my 40 cases, eight builders invested over $50.00 in the manufacture of their canoes. Only 8 people could have purchased sail material and copper along with trade foods. The remaining 32 people, we can assume, approached their buyers when it was time to purchase nails and the sail. As noted earlier, some bridewealth canoe buyers do share the investment costs with the builder. But it is not surprising that seven out of the eight "high" cash investments (i.e., $50.00 and more) were bridewealth canoes. The remaining single high cash investment example was a contract case. The facts are becoming clearer. Men making bridewealth canoes are carrying heavier investment burdens than contract builders. The relationship between building time and canoe terms (in Tables 9 and 10) -- longer time for bridewealth canoes -- is now understood.

Building a bridewealth canoe is viewed as an expression of a builder's "strength" (gasisi). Strength refers to hosting ability. More specifically, it refers to the ability to generate the needed material items for hosting labor sessions. A man making a bridewealth canoe must be prepared to work hard for a canoe's completion. Generating the needed items through extensive borrowing and wage labor takes

a lot of time and energy. It is no wonder that bridewealth canoes take a longer time to build. This is especially true for young married men.

A young married man's (i.e., Group A people) difficult position is more clearly understood now (see Table 8). The social and economic system is stacked against him. He must make his first canoe for his in-laws. He has a poor chance (it seems) of receiving help from his in-laws who are buying the canoe. He should be personally wealthy in order to insure smooth building progress. But his resources are often drained by his obligations to support other people's ventures. And his youth and inexperience inhibit his borrowing successes. One way out of this trap is to have a lot of married sisters. He can then borrow from his in-laws.

These difficulties are part of the expected pattern on Panaeati. There is more to building a bridewealth canoe than piecing it together and presenting it. Canoe building is a test through which young men must pass. It is a test of their hosting skills. If they fail this test, it is a good indication that they will be only mediocre adults.

The reward to a builder from hosting laborers was noted at the outset of this discussion. A builder should host laborers well no matter what the terms for the canoe's presentation. A generous builder-host is well thought of by the community. They will return his generosity someday. But what about the profit when the canoe is finally presented? It has been noted that canoes are instrumental in obtaining the necessary goods to finance critical memorial occasions. Panaeati builders are very pragmatic. No matter what canoe terms have been established, builders want to get as much as they can from buyers. A canoe presenta-

tion's function in Panaeati's economic system must also be considered.

CANOE PURCHASING

(Panaeati is) The great canoe-building emporium of the archipelago....These canoes are made with a hardwood keel and the sides are built up with planks; the price was reckoned on the usual currency of stone adzes, and commercial probity had so far advanced among customers of the canoe-builders that long terms used even in the old days of the territory, to be arranged for the payment.

Murray, 1912

Panaeati builders never worried about a buyer's honesty. The long wait for the completion of a canoe transaction always favored canoe builders. Buyers never had a chance to dictate the terms of the transaction involving the exchange of a completed canoe for pigs, valuables, foods, and cash. Panaeati builders have always held the advantage for inter-island contract transactions. In fact, the long terms were designed to favor the canoe maker. A buyer on a distant island has little idea about the status of his canoe. The usual pattern is for the Panaeati builder to coax more and more "down payments" from his contract-friend as long as he can. There is never fear that a buyer will drop his promise to pay for the canoe. There is, on the other hand, some fear that a Panaeati builder will not hold up his end of the bargain. Canoes promised to one man often end up transferred to another buyer. Canoes promised for a certain year sometimes are not completed for several years.

Panaeati people have a reputation for taking advantage of the long wait for a completed canoe. They are known throughout the Misima Sub-

district for being clever and "tricky" (kakauwi). They have learned to take advantage of their monopoly on canoe timber. This was the case during the waga hot times and it seems to be the case today. However, in spite of their advantageous position in the canoe complex, Panaeati builders do not always come out on top.

The builder's advantage begins early. If he is looking for a contract-friend, he has no problem. There is always someone from another island who is considering purchasing a canoe. Word of a Panaeati man's desire to find a buyer travels fast. It was common (especially in the past before the Council system) for important wealthy men from other islands to come to Panaeati and look for a man building a canoe. The visitor would then try to convince the Panaeati man to enter an exchange relationship with him. The visitor would be informed of the work remaining on the canoe and just how much it would cost to finance its completion.

It is a good investment for important men from other islands to have a Panaeati friend. A man's importance increases if he has a Panaeati canoe. Canoes are excellent stores for wealth. Their resale values are exceptional. Moreover, it is possible that a good friendship can last beyond the transaction for that first canoe. A Panaeati man and a buyer from another island can then help each other at later "borrowing" (awanun) occasions. They may finance each other's feasts. Sometimes a second or a third canoe is negotiated between these two friends. This is how it should be if both parties (i.e., Panaeati man and his friend) are patient and honest with each other.

There are formal rules for the purchase of a canoe. The number

and kind of goods that a buyer should present for a completed canoe have traditional precedent. There is a good amount of variation, however, allowing a clever builder and a generous buyer to exceed the expected patterns. Bending the rules by giving more than is expected builds extraordinary reputations. This is what all people (builders and buyers) hope will happen when they begin canoe negotiations.

In the illustration of a canoe transfer from Panaeati to Sudest, in Chapter II, it was noted that the builder made several visits to Sudest. If a canoe's construction is at an early stage, a builder makes several trips over a long period of time to obtain the needed items for the labor sessions. While visiting, he tries to obtain whatever he can in order to fulfill his immediate giving responsibilities. A builder obtains food, sago, and other pigs to be used as he chooses back on Panaeati. His crew can take advantage of the main canoe transaction and develcp their personal borrowing relationships. These relationships are independent of the main canoe transaction.

When a canoe is completed on Panaeati today a builder sends his buyer a letter. The buyer either sends back word to Panaeati or just expects a visit from the Panaeati party in the near future. This visit involves the first major presentation of items for the canoe, called howahowa ("initial thrust"). Sudest informants told me that for this first presentation a buyer should give a builder one pig and one green-stone axeblade (giam). A Panaeati informant told me that this first presentation should include one bagi necklace and four green-stone axeblades, a total of five valuables. Multiples of five are found in all the canoe purchase rules noted below. Combining different valuables

into multiples of five is called leau.

The canoe is not presented at this first howahowa visit. The Panaeati party returns with the completed canoe at a later date. There is a good deal of variety here. Sometimes the second visit to the buyer's home is only the penultimate visit. If so, a buyer presents the Panaeati builder with the following added items according to my Sudest informants: 3 pigs and 3 bagi necklaces. The canoe is then left with the buyer, and the builder returns a third time.

The last visit is called howahowa tuntun ("closing thrust"). The same Panaeati informant noted above told me traditional rules state that this presentation should include 9 axeblades and 1 bagi necklace. Thus, according to this Panaeati informant, there is a total of 15 valuables in two major presentations (i.e., 13 axeblades and 2 bagi). Here, again, is a multiple of five.

Another Panaeati informant gave the following canoe purchasing rules. He stated that an overall total of 4 bagi necklaces should be presented. Two bagi necklaces represent the "rigging" holding the sail (sowa). The third bagi represents the "main sheet" (yauwa). The fourth bagi represents the "hull" (waga sinaina), which is the "flesh of the vessel."

Purchasing rules from Sudest informants and from informants on a small island near Sudest, called Grass Island, were identical. Grass Island, as noted earlier, is an extremely active sailing and trading island. These informants gave me the following rules used during mission times (before 1950).

The body of the canoe represents three points of reference: the

"stern" (ai puna), the "bow" (ai lamwan), and the "mast" (vaiyal). There should be one bagi and two pigs for each of these points. There should be a seventh pig given to the Panaeati visiting party to eat on the day they "decorate" (abab) the canoe for presentation and payment. According to the rules of this system there also should be 10 greenstone axeblades for each "side plank" (bwala). Finally, each of the two "endboards" (tumitumi) should be paid for by a gabulita valuable. For this system of ordering, the total of valuables and pigs is 42 (7 pigs, 3 bagi, 30 giam, 2 gabulita). The total of valuables -- bagi, giam, and gabulita -- is 35.

All people agree that, along with pigs and valuables, there should always be at least fifty bundles of sago (kabole) set out. Cash is an important ingredient in the payment, and will be discussed later.

When the presentation is made, each member of the buyer's party sets down a single unit item on the outrigger platform. This dramatic presentation was described in the introductory section.

Table 12

Purchase Items and Terms for Canoes
Grouped by Decade

Up to 1949

Case No.	Canoe Type	Bagi	Giam	Cash	Pigs	Terms
1.	waga hot	0	0	$ 0	1	B
2.	waga hot	0	0	0	1	B
3.	waga hot	?[41]	?	?	0	B
4.	waga hot	0	5	0	0	B
5.	waga hot	3	38	0	5	C
6.	waga hot	1	5	0	1	C
7.	waga hot	1	7	20	3	B
8.	waga hot	2	15	24	2	B
9.	waga hot	2	25	0	2	B
10.	sailau	3	26	30	1	B
11.	sailau	1	5	10	3	C
	Average	1.3	12.6	$8.4	1.7	

1950 - 1959

1.	sailau	2	8	$ 2	0	B
2.	sailau	0	4	22	3	B
3.	sailau	2	10	0	0	B
4.	sailau	1	12	0	10	C
5.	waga hot	2	6	16	5	B

[41] Incomplete data; not included in averages.

Table 12 - continued

Case No.	Canoe Type	Bagi	Giam	Cash	Pigs	Terms
6.	sailau	0	0	$ 0	1	B
7.	sailau	1	6	100	2	C
8.	sailau	2	5	24	4	Cross-cousin
9.	sailau	0	0	0	0	B
10.	sailau	3	7	48	5	C
11.	sailau	3	50	18	5	C
12.	waga hot	3	30	0	1	C
13.	sailau	0	5	0	2	C
14.	sailau	2	20	4	2	B
15.	sailau	2	12	0	2	B
16.	sailau	1	5	0	3	C
17.	sailau	1	0	0	0	B
18.	sailau	0	(not yet completed)		3	B
	Averages	1.4	10.6	13.8	2.7	

1960 - 1969

1.	sailau	3	1	$ 80	5	C
2.	sailau	1	0	48	0	B
3.	sailau	2	12	4	1	B
4.	sailau	1	3	20	0	B
5.	sailau	3	12	46	7	C
6.	sailau	2	14	0	2	B
7.	sailau	4	10	20	1	B

Table 12 - continued

Case No.	Canoe Type	Bagi	Giam	Cash	Pigs	Terms
8.	sailau	2	10	56	?	C
9.	sailau	0	0	0	0	B
10.	sailau	1	9	21	2	C
11.	sailau	2	10	58	1	B
12.	sailau	2	12	18	2	B
13.	sailau	0	0	20	0	B
14.	sailau	2	6	24	4	B
15.	sailau	1	0	0	5	C
16.	sailau	3	19	18	2	B
17.	sailau	3	10	70	8	C
18.	sailau	0	6	22	2	C
19.	sailau	2	0	0	3	B
	Averages	1.7	7.0	27.70	2.5	

Table 13

Averages of Canoe Purchases
Grouped by Decade and Terms

		Bagi	Giam	Cash	Pigs	N Cases
up to 1949	Bridewealth	1.0	11.2	$10.6	1.3	7[42]
	Contract	1.7	16.0	3.3	3.0	2
1950-1959	Bridewealth	1.0	6.0	4.4	1.5	10[43]
	Contract	2.0	19.2	27.7	4.7	6
1960-1969	Bridewealth	1.9	7.8	20.9	1.5	11[44]
	Contract	1.6	6.0	36.9	4.1	8

[42] N = 8 for pigs

[43] N = 11 for Bagi and pigs

[44] N = 7 for pigs

Here it is important to reinforce a critical point. The total number of pigs and valuables represents the buyer's fund of support. Each unit stands for a person who came to support the buyer. When, for example, the buyer alone contributes ten items, he finds ten family members (usually children) to march out to the canoe and set the items down one by one.

The ideal payment rules noted above are rarely followed to the letter today. This flexibility was probably also the case during the mission years before the 1950's, because it allows for the uncommonly generous buyer to show himself. Many buyers continue an exchange relationship with a builder long after they have formally completed the canoe transaction.

Canoe Purchase Examples

It is also important to look at actual cases of canoe purchases. This information was obtained from the questionnaire. Few people interviewed remembered the amount of garden food, or the number of trade goods that were piled up and presented to them. Some informants remembered the sago that they received. Most of the informants, however, were able to tell me (with assurance) the amounts of the following items: pigs, bagi, giam, and cash. A few people only remembered some of these important items. Some people included canoe transactions that are not completely paid for yet.

Table 12 lists the payments for Panaeati canoes for bagi, giam, cash, and pigs. The table is grouped by decades in the same manner as Table 11. The transaction terms are also listed. In Table 13, I have

summarized the transaction term averages for each decade.

Average payments in bagi necklaces over the three decades have remained fairly steady. However, giam payments have decreased and cash payments have increased over the years. Pigs seem to be just as important in payment calculations as they were in the past. In fact, there is a trend toward increased pig payments over the years. Table 13 gives some indication -- although not conclusive -- that contracted payments generally are larger than bridewealth canoe payments.

It is now important to examine canoe investments and returns. Builders agree that a "successful canoe payment" (leau waiwaisana) is one in which the return payment is at least as much as a builder's investment in pigs and cash. In fact, a builder wants to see an abundant amount of everything, such as garden food, sago, trade store goods, valuables, pigs and cash. I have listened to many builders complain that while they received a satisfactory amount of one of these important items, they were disappointed in the amount of another item. Therefore, a "truly successful payment" (leau waiwaisana hot) is one where everything is abundant. Pigs and cash are critical investment/return items and I have complete records of them. There was no way for me to record food investment/returns. People do not keep as close a record of their food investment. They do not usually remember the number of pots of cooked food and the baskets of uncooked food.

Table 14 shows the investment/return information for pigs. It is a four-celled table comparing contract-friend terms with bridewealth terms. If a builder received the same or a higher return for his pig investment, I recorded a mark in the appropriate cell. I also noted the decade in which the transaction took place.

Table 14

Pig Investment/Return Data:
Grouped According to The Terms and the Decade of the Transaction

N = 42

	Terms	Contract	Bridewealth
Investment/Return	1940's	2	2
Same or Higher	1950's	5	4
	1960's	4	4
	Total =	11	Total = 10
	1940's	1	5
Lower	1950's	1	6
	1960's	1	7
	Total =	3	Total = 18

Table 14 shows a definite trend. Contract-friends are consistently meeting builders' pig investments. Thus, out of fourteen contract-friend transactions. eleven (i.e., 71.4%) showed an equal or higher return for their pig investment. Thus, for pigs, the data supports the Panaeati people's contention that they have more "successful" transactions when they are dealing with friends than when they are dealing with in-laws.

Panaeati canoe builders today want cash for their canoes. Some builders adopt the following policy when they are dealing with a contract-friend. They tell their friends to concentrate especially on cash. If a buyer is forced to make a choice, he now knows that his Panaeati friend would be more pleased to see an abundant supply of cash rather than an abundant number of pigs.

In Table 15 below, investments in cash are compared with returns in cash. The same four-celled scheme is repeated to record cash, the terms for the transactions, and the decade. There is an added feature to this table. A circled mark indicates that for this case the same situation also exists for pigs. Because a "truly successful canoe payment" should be successful in every category, it is important to keep both pigs and cash in focus. Some of my cases, however, have incomplete cash information. Thus, the total number of cases in Table 15 is only 36.

Table 15

CASH INVESTMENT/RETURN ACCORDING TO TERMS and the Year of the Transaction
(PLUS PIG INVESTMENT RETURN FOR THE SAME CASES)

N = 36

Investment/Return		Terms: Contract	Terms: Bridewealth
Same or Higher	1940's	1	1
	1950's	(1)(1)(1)	(1)
	1960's	(1)(1)(1)	11(1)1
		T = 7	T = 6
Low	1940's	1	(1) (1)
	1950's	11	(1)(1)1(1)(1)(1)1 1 1 1 1
	1960's	1(1)	1(1)1(1)(1)
		T = 5	T = 18

Panaeati builders are definitely interested in getting their material investment back when they present their canoe. The over-all picture is disappointing, however. Only thirteen (i.e., 36.1%) of a total of thirty-six transactions show an equal or higher cash return than the investment. And only eight (i.e., 22.2%) of the thirty-six transactions show an equal or higher return for both pigs and cash. Statements B and E emphasize that contract-friends who come through with one important item (i.e., cash) also come through with pigs. On the other hand, bridewealth cases show that in-laws who fall short of expectation in their cash payments follow the same pattern for their pig payments.

The same tendency toward successful contract-friend transactions is reinforced by the cash information in Table 15. The information from this table is summarized in the following statements.

A. Out of twelve contract-friend cases, seven (i.e., 58.3%) were purchased for an equal or higher amount of cash than the builder invested.

B. Six (i.e., 85.7%) of these seven cases (of same or higher return) show the same pattern for pigs and cash.

C. Of the remaining five cases of low cash investment/return, one (i.e., 20%) shows a low pig investment return.

D. Of twenty-four bridewealth cases, only six (i.e., 25%)

were purchased with an equal or higher amount of cash than the builder invested.

E. Only two of these six (i.e., 33.3%) cases show the same investment/return pattern (i.e., same or higher) for pigs.

F. Of the remaining eighteen bridewealth cases in which a low cash return was received in twelve (i.e., 66.5%) fewer pigs than the builders invested were received.

The Conveniences of Cash

Having a steady cash income places a person in an excellent position today. Panaeati salaried people take advantage of the steady income and build canoes. Salaried people from other islands are in a better position than anyone else to buy Panaeati canoes. In 1970 and 1971, of fifteen contracted canoes, eight canoes were being made for buyers with steady cash incomes. This information was obtained from Table 6, which was discussed earlier.

Cash is extremely efficient today. This was noted earlier in our discussion of contemporary sailau. The flexibility of construction of the contemporary sailau makes their construction fit into the scheduling system quite well. And cash items from the trade stores help hosts take advantage of scheduling opportunities. While it is not the best thing to do, builders can get by with trade store foods for minor labor tasks. It is not surprising that builders today want cash for

their canoes. Trade store foods are becoming more and more important to Panaeati people. These items have not taken over the critical positions that garden foods and sago have in Panaeati hosting requirements, but cash items have been completely incorporated into Panaeati people's contemporary life-style.

Two of these salaried buyers, noted above, are traders and plantation owners. These two men are the children of mixed marriages. They are working the plantations that their fathers established years earlier. Each of these two men is today married to a Melanesian woman from the Misima Sub-district. They have the same in-law obligations as their Misima Sub-district friends and relatives. In fact, they are under considerable pressure to keep their wives' families content. Buying canoes is one important way to do this. Both these men operate motorboats as part of their copra business. They buy Panaeati canoes because they have obligated themselves to present these canoes to someone else (i.e., their brothers-in-law or their children's in-laws).

Both men contracted their canoes early. They took an active part in financing the construction of the canoes. Both are competent in dealing with pigs, bagi, and giam axeblades. They have in-laws and friends who will help them purchase the canoe. These contractors will come forth with most of the cash themselves, however. But even with salaried contractors, Panaeati builders stretch out the terms and try to twist the advantage toward themselves. Most of the time, buyers with salaries hold up their end of the canoe transaction quite well. In fact, Panaeati people cultivate friendships with these salaried men because they are reliable sources from whom to borrow.

Two other salaried men born to indigenous parents were also buying canoes in 1970 and 1971. These two men were talented carpenters. One of the men worked for the government on Misima and the other worked for the Catholic Mission on Nimoa Island. Both these men also had the strength, energy, and cleverness needed to operate successfully in traditional economic activities. They commanded a great deal of respect from their neighbors. Their salaries gave them a stronger position. I recorded the following information about these two men's canoe transactions:

Edoni's Canoe Purchase

Edoni has been planning the canoe purchase for a long time (several months). The transfer was to be completed on a Saturday so that he could go from Bwagaoia, Misima to his home village of Liak for the formal exchange. The Panaeati party wanted to complete the transaction quickly. They were interested in making a memorial occasion back on Panaeati. They needed the materials from the exchange to carry out their plans for the feasting.

They took two canoes with them to Liak. They were not sure whether Edoni would agree to the transfer of a small canoe. For insurance they made an agreement with another Panaeati man. They decided to take a bigger canoe belonging to the other man in case Edoni preferred the larger one.

In fact, Edoni did desire the larger canoe. According to the Panaeati party, Edoni handled himself in exemplary fashion. He hosted the party well. He did not make them wait days for the exchange. He

had planned things like a European making the most of his weekend time off from work.

The following is a list of the items presented for the canoe called Gauna ("Where are you going?"). I have also listed the contributors who helped Edoni amass this sizeable presentation of valuables, cash and pigs. The trade store goods are also listed. I could not track down all the contributors of these items, however.

Items	No.	Contributors
Axeblades (giam)	1	Edoni 13, SiDaHu 3, SiDaHu 2, WiBr 1, BrSo 3, FaBr 2, Friend 1, FaSiSo 1, SiSo 1.
Necklaces (bagi)	6	Edoni 5, SiSo 1.
Pigs	9	SiSos 9 (one each; extended two ascending generations).
Money	$300.00	$148.00 from Edoni and his nine SiSos. $24.00 unidentified. ($128.00 was promised Panaeati to make the total $300.00).

Trade Store Goods

Items	No.
Tobacco sticks	38
Matches	8
Bed sheets	2
Calico Material	18 yds.
Rice	240 lbs.
Sugar	148 lbs.
Plates	67
Bowls	6

Trade Store Goods (continued)

Items	No.
Glass plates	27
Dishes	5
Drinking glasses	2
Spoons	16
Table knives	4
Tin cups	10
T-shirt	1
Man's shirt	1
Dress	1
Assorted calico pieces of material and clothing	10
Garden items:	29 baskets
Taro	4 baskets
Yams	
Cooked food:	
Sago (*moni*)	1 pot
Yams	3 pots
Other:	
Sleeping mats (*helagi*)	5 bundles

KAUBWA'S CANOE PURCHASE

I visited Nimoa and the islands in the Eastern end of the Sub-district. I met Kaubwa and he gave me the following information about how he obtained a Panaeati canoe named Tutu Na Loia (I'm Looking for a Relative").

A Panaeati man named Koka came to Kimuta Island for a soi. He told Kaubwa that he did not have a relative in the Sudest area of the Sub-district. This was unfortunate because Koka had a completed canoe that he wanted to exchange. Koka asked the carpenter if he would like the canoe. Kaubwa agreed and the arrangement began. Koka did not take anything from the carpenter that first meeting, however.

After a time, Koka sent a letter to Kaubwa. He told Kaubwa that he was coming to Nimoa to deliver the canoe. In exchange for the canoe, Koka and his party received the following goods in 1969:

Items	No.	Contributor
Bagi necklace	1	Kaubwa
Pigs	2	Kaubwa
Axeblades (giam)	12	Br 1, Br 1, DaHu 1, SiSoWi 1, SiHu 1, WiBr 1, WiBr 1, Kaubwa 5
Cash	$20.00	Kaubwa
Sago (uncooked)	100 bundles	Kaubwa
Yams	20 baskets	Kaubwa's lineage women

In August, 1971, Koka received a letter from Kaubwa telling him to return to Nimoa soon to receive the remaining items. This final trip would involve decorating the endboards of the canoe (abab). Koka did make the trip to Nimoa. Unfortunately, he set a return date in

advance because of a pressing Panaeati memorial occasion. Kaubwa did not know this. He told Koka that he would not be able to get everything ready for the formal presentation in such a short time. Koka agreed to go back to Panaeati immediately (after taking some sago). The two friends made an arrangement to postpone the formal payment for a time.

Kaubwa's case brings out an important point. Even when the buyers are salaried, it is not always possible to complete the presentation quickly. Most of the time, in fact, a Panaeati builder and his crew spend a considerable amount of time at a buyer's home island waiting for the friend to find the required items. This is the case even when the Panaeati party has been invited to arrive at a certain time. There is always last-minute work for the buyer to do. Edoni's quick and efficient presentation is extraordinary. Not all transactions can occur conveniently on Saturday as Edoni's canoe payment did.

There is some concern that this pressure to schedule sailing trips is working against Panaeati's best interests. For years it has been felt that the more time a buyer has, the better his chance to amass the needed items to make an abundant presentation for a canoe. During the month or two while the Panaeati party waits, a buyer taps his own social network for help. Buyers sometimes sail off looking for pigs and valuables, leaving the Panaeati party behind. Limiting visiting and waiting time, according to some people, limits the amount of goods that Panaeati builders receive for their canoes. However, contemporary builders have adjusted their "selling" strategies to scheduling. And they feel their canoe complex has been consistent with Panaeati's

recent history. Panaeati builders make their canoes today for the same purposes that their fathers did (i.e., bridewealth and contract). Converting canoe payments to finance memorial hosting activities is still the primary motivating factor today as it was in the past. Buyers also face the same challenge today that they did in the past: to come forth with an impressive display of material items in exchange for a canoe. On the day of the presentation, this challenge is the same for in-laws and contract-friends. While friends seem to come through more consistently than in-laws, only about one-third of all buyers come through well (i.e., return a builder's investment). This disappointing fact is not surprising to Panaeati elders. Accordingly, they offer the following warning: You can never be sure of a successful payment no matter what the situation.

The uncertainty concerning a buyer's ability to come forth with a strong payment adds drama and excitement to a canoe transaction. The dramatic events involved in payment for a completed canoe were described in the introduction. However, this "unknown" (i.e., the payment) element also adds frustration and worry to canoe transactions. It is not difficult to imagine the frustration and disappointment that a builder must feel after he has been presented with a poor display in exchange for his canoe. The gossip network picks up the news of a builder's success or failure and broadcasts the amount of material items he received for his canoe. How can a builder return to Panaeati and face the embarrassment from a poor payment? And, in the same token, how can a buyer face the embarrassment of a meager presentation display? As far as I can tell, neither a buyer nor a builder have to face their community's repudiation.

A Rationalization for Disappointments

A builder is saved from embarrassment as long as he has not bragged about the size of his payment before he left Panaeati. "Bragging," called ba howa, is not tolerated. As noted earlier, in "requesting" (awanun) and in all giving contexts, controlled, respectful humility is a valued attitude. Bragging invites repudiation from others. A canoe builder who "talked ahead of time" and then received a poor presentation deserves to be embarrassed. Other disappointed builders, according to Panaeati logic, have no reason to be embarrassed. A builder's frustration and anger is displaced on the buyer. "The buyer disappointed us." Indeed, it is part of man's character occasionally to disappoint others. Man is fallible, according to traditional Panaeati opinion. And they find support in their view of man from Christianity.

This view of man's fallibility in the mundane world of material exchanges supplies a rationalization that protects builders and buyers alike from self-doubt and blame "when the cards are on the table" -- at canoe payment times. In order to understand more fully how this works, we continue a discussion of the two polar types of Panaeati people (i.e., tolokabwana and tolobwagabwaga) mentioned earlier in this chapter.

When a new canoe is launched into the sea there is often a short ritual involving the following activities. Two young men stand on the canoe. One of the men thrusts a fishing spear towards the east. The other man thrusts another spear toward the west. The spear going in an easterly direction represents a person who constantly gives away food to others. This man is referred to as tolokabwana, or "one who looks for food." The spear that is thrown in the westerly direction represents

another kind of person. He is called tolobwagabwaga, or "one who doesn't look for a thing" ("a good for nothing"). Both men would like to buy a canoe.

According to the story that explains the ritual, "a man who looks for food" (tolokabwana) is a person who always provides for other people's needs. He is always a generous host. Ideally, this person should be able to buy a canoe for he has taken good care of other people in the past, and they should help him out in return. At the moment, however, this person (i.e., tolokabwana) is in no position to launch any new ventures. Because he has helped others, he has nothing at hand but debts.

Tolobwagabwaga ("one who is not looking for a thing") is in a different position, according to the story. This is a person who saves and hoards. He is an economizer when it comes to feeding his helpers and lending things to others. However, this kind of person sometimes comes out on top. Tolobwagabwaga is in a better position to buy a canoe than tolokabwana. According to the story, because he had the goods at hand, tolobwagabwaga got the new canoe. Who is the good man in this story? Is it the person who hoarded so he could have the goods at hand and purchase the canoe? Or is it the person who cleaned out his own stock of goods in order to be generous to others? According to the story, even though tolokabwana lost his chance at the canoe, he is a better person because of his generosity to his people. Tolobwagabwaga, on the other hand, is "good for nothing" -- even though he came out on top this time.

The ritual and the story offer an important warning to people.

It is impossible to be sure exactly when one's giving investments will be returned. But a good person's disappointments should not impede the quality of his future hosting activities on Panaeati. He will be rewarded by the community in the long run. The cultural ideal -- generosity and feeding -- cannot be shattered by ephemeral disappointments.

The spear-throwing ritual reminds people that it is always difficult to count on others. It helps a buyer who cannot be sure when people will help him, and it helps a builder who cannot be sure about the payment for his canoe. In spite of the fact that logic and justice are on the side of a generous person, there are uncontrollable factors working against a good person. It is functional then, to have an explanation or a rationalization for disappointments.

Builders and buyers both avoid self-doubt and personal blame. This principle explains the disappointment as being in human nature. People should not disappoint each other. But disappointments are common in social relationships. They are very common indeed because a "real giver" (guiau hot) never has enough material items when he wants them. This is what happened to the generous person (tolokabwana) in the ritual story. He was unable to take advantage of an immediate buying opportunity. Good people often lose in short-term ventures such as buying a canoe. It should not happen. But it can happen. It is better to be prepared for the possibility of it actually happening.

This rationalization is especially useful for transferring canoes to in-laws. It was noted earlier that disappointments are more common

when dealing with in-laws than when dealing with contract-friends. In fact, builders do not expect a sizeable return for their investment in canoes built for bridewealth (muliwagana). A good in-law, however, should share the investment responsibility with the builder. He should also pay well for the canoe that is being presented to him. A good payment reflects well on his reputation and on the reputation of his lineage. A good payment also reflects well on the woman (i.e., the builder's wife) in whose name the canoe is made. Women are caught in the middle of bridewealth transactions. They are embarrassed for their own lineage when a canoe is paid for poorly. They are also embarrassed when their husbands treat a lineage mate disrespectfully.

In spite of the preparation for disappointment that the ritual provides, builders call upon every talent they have. Here, magic and the threat of punitive sorcery come into play. The scene when a canoe is presented and paid for was described in the introductory chapter. It was pointed out that the air is tense. People move about rigidly and there is a feeling of formality akin to hostility and anger. I witnessed canoe purchase transactions between in-laws and, on another occasion, between cross-cousins. I was still surprised at the tension created by threats and challenges from the builder to the buyer. I was surprised at people's rigid movements and the violent way they tossed pigs about.

People assured me that what I saw was mild compared to the actions that occur when a Panaeati party collects presentation items at a contract-friend's home island. "It's just like a fight" (iora havin), according to people's description. This is the case today and it seems

to have been much more explosive in the past. The ritual's rationalization in no way works as a tonic to ease tensions or to smooth over disappointments at the scene of the action. Contributing to the excitement and tension is the fact that no one really knows how much a buyer can offer at the presentation scene. Will his people contribute goods to his canoe presentation? (See Introduction.)

Because of this unknown factor (and because of a real desire for the goods), builders do not go into these sessions poorly prepared. There is a strong belief that magical spells spoken into a lime pot improve the effectiveness of a builder's verbal challenge to a buyer. A builder that is not in possession of an appropriate magical spell takes someone with him who is competent in magic. This person will deliver the vevegali verbal assault for the builder. Panaeati people feel that some builders are better than others at getting material items from buyers who never intended to give so abundantly.

When a successful presentation is completed, a builder makes a statement that eradicates the threat of sorcery that loomed over the buyer and his people. This is the situation when a buyer holds up his end of the transaction. However, even among in-laws, a great deal of ill-feeling comes from poor bridewealth canoe payments. Today, the threat of sorcery is common between in-laws after seventy-five years of Methodist influence. To repeat, even in-laws should respond to the challenge and pay well for canoes. Thus, the success or failure of all canoe purchases is never known until they are completed.

It is interesting to note that Panaeati people do not wish to erase this unknown factor. I witnessed a meeting on Panaeati where the

possibility of making more formal canoe terms through the council system was discussed. Very few people thought there was merit to this idea. The general consensus was in favor of keeping the conservative pattern of canoe building and selling. According to Panaeati people, the long terms and the vague payment rules are Panaeati builders' only advantage. While Panaeati people are notorious for juggling terms and manipulating friendships to their advantage, builders come through with the promised canoe most of the time. When they do not do this, something has happened to break the bond of trust between a builder and a contractor. If a builder was not satisfied with the terms of a previous transaction, he may not complete the contractor's second canoe for years. While I was visiting the eastern end of the Sub-district, I was given several messages to pass on to Panaeati builders who had dropped contract with their contract-friends.

Younger builders comment that today they cannot get away with the chicanery that their fathers used. Moreover, they do not wish to do this. They try to keep up communication with contractors while the canoes are being built. Some of the builders, as noted earlier, also try to clarify the amount of payment -- especially the cash and pigs -- before a completed canoe is formally purchased. The builders with whom I spoke clearly understood the advantages and the disadvantages of long payment terms. Many of them do not let the cash portion of the payment stretch out beyond the formal presentation period because they have specific plans to invest the cash in a memorial occasion. Delaying the cash payment would make it difficult to buy the trade store items needed for the feasting preparations.

Builders frequently coordinate the formal canoe payment with a memorial hosting project on Panaeati. Stockpiling goods invites pressure from would-be borrowers. This is especially difficult when the borrowers are in-laws. People agree, however, that last minute hoarding and saving is acceptable strategy for builders with a planned memorial activity. Nevertheless, builders wait until the last possible moment before the memorial activity to bring the goods into their houses. The last few weeks before a memorial occasion are extremely active times for hosts. As this chapter has made clear, a host's timing is very important to the completion of his plans.

Panaeati builders have fit their hosting plans and their canoe transfer plans into the contemporary scheduled Panaeati life-style. The scheduling has so far not disrupted the vitality of Panaeati's economic organization. Builders are building canoes and presenting them to in-laws and to contract-friends. In both cases the material goods obtained for the canoes are used to finance memorial activities on Panaeati. This visiting and negotiating with canoe buyers can be successfully accomplished in the contemporary council-inspired scheduled atmosphere because these transactions require only infrequent visiting. Panaeati sailing today has been compressed to the level that is appropriate to its canoe building and internal hosting requirements. In the concluding chapter, Panaeati's historical resilience is compared with that of other Melanesian island peoples.

Conclusion

Melanesian people's resilience to changing conditions is well-documented in a large body of literature on cargo cults and movements.[45] These cargo cults and movements, however, should be viewed in a broader context as only one small moment in the long history of Melanesia's peoples. It is important to realize that changes took place before colonial contact, and also that there were other reactions to colonial contact besides cargo cults. This study of Panaeati people's marriage activities and inter-island trading has documented constructive historical adjustments to missionization.

In this concluding chapter, I shall discuss some of the trade changes in other areas of Papua New Guinea. Comparison with recent information about kula area trading is especially interesting in light of earlier remarks about Panaeati people's changing trading patterns. I shall then offer some suggestions as to why Panaeati people have found such lasting reward from missionization.

I.

Brookfield notes that a study by I. M. Hughes indicates a post-1890 trading influx from the coastal areas into the New Guinea Highlands. This trading boom was mainly in traditional wealth items. Some of these articles may have entered the region for the first time (1971: 332-33). New goods were also introduced from the coast. These newer

[45] The literature on movements in Melanesia is massive. Two classic works are Lawrence (1964) and Worsely (1967).

goods (i.e., steel axes and knives) were first incorporated into the existing trading patterns that involved traditional goods. Then, the newer items displaced some of the traditional goods. Eventually, new trading links developed and the new articles flowed along new channels. Changes in trading patterns encompassing new articles and new trading partners were common throughout the New Guinea mainland according to Brookfield.

> As early as 1920 Beaver noted that Torres Straits islanders were buying canoes directly from the Fly River people, and no longer through intermediaries on the Papuan coast. In the 1950's enterprising Chimbu were wandering far into the Western Highland District of East New Guinea in search of plumes to trade for profit (R. N. H. Bulmer, 1962), and when proposing to equip themselves for a long-delayed new pig ceremony in 1969, Chimbu men declared they would go far afield, even into Papuan lowlands, to buy plumes when the time came (1971:333).

In the Vitiaz Straits area of northeast Papua New Guinea, trading changes are also documented for the traditional active middlemen islands: Bilibili, Siassi, and Tami. Today, only Siassi islanders are active traders (Brookfield, 1971:399 and Harding, 1967). The Tami carvers' role in trading declined sharply with intense missionization according to Harding (1967:194-95). The Bilibili potters' role in trading declined as a consequence of German colonial land-grabbing at the turn of the century (Harding, 1967:198-99). Many young men were diverted from their traditional sailing pursuits and employed in coconut plantations. For a time, however, pacification widened the trading fields. This was especially true for trade relations between Siassi and Umboi peoples on the mainland (Harding, 1967:200). Harding notes that the

Lutheran mission station near Sio implemented new contacts with mountain peoples (1967:201).

The extent and the form of trading in the kula region north and east of the Louisiade Archipelago has also shifted over the years. Recent research in the Amphlett Island area by Peter K. Lauer has placed kula trading in a dynamic and flexible framework. Lauer is concerned with the extent of Amphlett pottery trading (1970). The Amphlettans gather clay on Fergusson Island. Pottery is a critical export commodity for the Amphlettans, and they make monthly trading trips to villages on Fergusson and Goodenough Islands to obtain garden food. Lauer notes that contemporary Amphlettans trade their pots to people on Goodenough Island who were not in the "traditional kula network" according to Malinowski's post-pacification descriptions. Moreover, the Amphlettans are not actively trading with some of the peoples in the north who were in their traditional kula network. Their traditional partners from Dobu, Bwaio Peninsula, Vakuta and Sinaketa still want Amphlett pots, however. But Amphlett pottery traders have found more convenient trading partners today. Obtaining food is a constant necessity for the Amphlett people. Amphlettans have made reasonable adjustments in their trading patterns since pacification. They now visit closer trading partners, making their monthly trips for food less difficult. Amphlett traders, like Panaeati and Brooker peoples, rely on sailing. Trips to the Trobriands, Dobu, and to Bwaio Peninsula are too difficult to make monthly. Amphlett sailors still occasionally make these long journeys. But these long trips are primarily "political" ventures, for obtaining valuables, and not food quests. Amphlett potters

reserve the majority of their pottery trading for the closer "non-kula" affiliated islanders (1970:172).

Pottery traders from Tube Tube and Wari Islands are trading a good number of their pots to Dobu, Bwaio Peninsula, Vakuta, and Sineketa villagers. They have taken over the Amphlettans' traditional trading position with these peoples because Wari and Tube Tube traders operate motorized launches to carry their cargo. They make the trip to these northern areas in any weather with ease (cf. Belshaw, 1955).

Lauer suggests the importance of utility or "secondary" trading for the Massim people has been overshadowed by the exciting -- but infrequent -- "political" kula ventures by big men (1970:172). Accordingly, he contends that our understanding of inter-island trading in general and kula trading in particular has suffered from an overly generalized approach. He offers some interesting historical and ecological remarks about the Amphlettans' relations with their neighbors in order to clarify "political" trade (i.e., valuables and pigs) and "utility" trade (i.e., foods, pots, etc.). His remarks complement my present discussion of Panaeati people's relations in the Louisiade Archipelago.

Lauer notes that during the warring years, the political kula alliances were also important insurance against real food shortages. But no island could rely on these occasional political trips to distant kula partners to supply a constant source of food. Each island in the kula area responded to pacification in a different manner.

Because peace no longer depended on political alliances, islanders could decrease their contact with traditional kula partners if they

wished. Inter-island trading now included considerations of convenience. Rich islands with abundant material resources to feed their populations reached a level of inter-island contact that best fulfilled their internal political requirements. Less endowed small islands took advantage of the peace and increased their inter-island trade to obtain utilities. They visited non-kula peoples who lived closer, and utility trading was carried out to a degree impossible before pacification. This is exactly what the Amphlettan pottery traders did. Lauer makes the following interesting comment about historical shifts in the kula area where the Amphlettans live.

> The kula ring itself no longer serves an obvious commercial function. However, other members, such as the Amphlettans, who depended on such trade for their livelihood, have broken away from the kula markets and have established a brisk trade in new, formerly hostile regions.
>
> Ironically a description of the prest kula trade would conform more closely with Malinowski's description in terms of diminishing economic importance than it did 60 years ago (1970:174).

The Amphlettans' adjustment to pacification parallels the Brooker people's adjustments mentioned earlier. Like the Amphlettans, Brooker people sail to other places primarily to obtain garden produce. Brooker Island is deficient in garden food, sago and betel. Brooker people carried on some trade for foods during the pre-colonial era. But the extent of this trade with other places is difficult to ascertain. Like the Amphlettans, and Panaeati people, Brooker Islanders had certain

political channels through which they could obtain food. In this early period, sago was a very critical dietary supplement for all people. Brooker Islanders traded and raided for sago that grew on nearby Motorina, Misima, and Sudest. The difference between Brooker and the Amphlett situations is that the Amphlett pottery tradition seems to be much older than the Brooker pottery tradition.

Brooker pottery exporting developed around the turn of the century to insure Brooker people's utility importing. Brooker sailors "delivered" pottery all over the Archipelago. This pottery trading probably opened the way for less frequent political trade in wealth items and pigs between Brooker people and people living on more richly endowed islands. Pigs and wealth items support memorial activities on Brooker just as they do on Panaeati.

In a peaceful atmosphere, people coming together from all over the Louisiade Archipelago for a memorial celebration could establish scores of politically motivated trade friendships. People promised each other valuables and also directly handed over valuables brought with them. When a friend arrived later for a pig, or for a wealth article, he left with much more. He was given whatever his trade friend and his friend's people could gather up. Even the poorest islanders in the Louisiade Archipelago load visitors as best they can with provisions when they leave. To do so is a moral duty. These trade friendships did not need "recharging" frequently because political trading (exchanges of pigs and valuables) was always less frequent than was trading motivated by subsistence requirements.

The frequency of political trading is monitored by the customary

requirements that the desired items fill. Louisiade peoples worked and sailed to finance memorial activities and other marriage obligations. While these trips were not as formal as overseas kula trips, they were infrequently held even at the height of the mission period. None of the people in the Louisiade Archipelago stockpile wealth items and pigs. They obtain them for specific occasions. After pacification in the Louisiades, all inter-group contact increased. Political celebrations flourished and utility trading expanded. This increase in festivals was common in other areas of Milne Bay (cf. Young, 1971:258).

The extent of these islanders' over-all sailing and trading was determined first by their desire for subsistence imports. Political trading for other items comes in the flow of sociability that visiting establishes. Both Panaeati and Brooker islanders enjoy being visited by outsiders and visiting other islands. At the height of the mission period, Panaeati men sailed wherever they fancied and obtained sago, food, betel, and any political items (i.e., pigs and valuables) they could find. Brooker people's subsistence requirements (as in the Amphlett Islands) were much greater than Panaeati people's needs. Accordingly, their sailing and trading was always more intensive than Panaeati sailing, and Brooker's pottery exports grew in proportion to its imports.

Panaeati pottery exports were never critical to Panaeati people's subsistence. Panaeati's gardens and reef lagoon supplied enough food for its population. Panaeati pots have been exported as hospitality items since pacification. Pots were instrumental to the opening of political transactions. These political transactions involved the

exchange of Panaeati canoes for pigs, valuables, and cash. A Panaeati canoe builder willingly supplied his contract-friend with pots while a canoe was being built. In the early years after pacification, Panaeati people made enough pots to satisfy their infrequent political visitors and other nearby islanders too.

Panaeati people responded to the Local Council System's recent restrictions on sailing because they had a strong food base. Panaeati people limited most of their sailing trips to fit their internal political needs. Political transactions involving Panaeati canoes and pigs, valuables, and cash fit the new restricted sailing pattern quite well. Political trading between a canoe builder and his partner -- like all politically inspired trading -- takes place a few times a year at most. Panaeati people look for pigs and valuables when they have giving responsibilities for which they are preparing.

Brooker Islanders, on the other hand, could not limit their sailing and trading in the 1950's. Their pottery exporting business flourishes today and has almost completely taken over the market from Panaeati pottery. Almost every young girl on Brooker Island makes pots today. In contrast, only a few women on Panaeati make pots. Young Panaeati girls are not taking an interest in pottery-making. Panaeati people receive quite a few pots from Brooker. To their credit, the Brooker clay is superior to the Panaeati clay, and Brooker pots last longer than Panaeati pots.

Understanding the relationship between political trading and utility trading requires studying the history of an island's relations with its neighbors. Malinowski's metaphors described valuables "flowing"

like an "ocean current" (1922:499). It is impossible to unravel the nature of each island's relations with its neighbors with this overpowering metaphor. Lauer rightly points out that Malinowski was not prepared to deal with the line between political kula trading and utility (or secondary) trading. And Malinowski's conservatism and his insufficient regard for the historical depth of trading has been a long-standing criticism of his scholarship (Lauer, 1970:172). I do not wish to add to this chorus, for his descriptions, along with Fortune's work on Dobu (1963), are valuable and rich studies of pre-war life. I do, however, want to add fresh hindsight.

We are at a considerable loss today because Malinowski did not chronicle the effects of the Methodist Mission's activities on Trobriand and Dobu life (cf. Malinowski, 1922:466-7). Reverend Bromilow, who lived on rich Dobu Island, offers a tantalizing comment concerning Dobu kula trading after pacification in 1891 (1928:264).

> I found that the kula circle into which...I had been initiated -- a great honour at the time -- had rapidly deteriorated into little more than a mere ordinary trading concern. ...It had not been able to survive the coming of the white man's commercial enterprise and trade methods.

And Bromilow also makes a comment about Malinowski (1928:233-42).

> He (Malinowski) refers to their (the Dobuans) former fierceness of not long before, a matter of a few years only, when they had borne the worst reputation of all Papuans, but it does not occur to him, apparently, to attribute their good behaviour to the influence of the mission.

While Lauer emphasizes that pacification played a critical role in Massim people's trading patterns, he does not mention that the Methodist Mission was the major peace keeping influence in the region (Macgregor,

1897:96). The mission was first brought to Dobu as an arm of the government. While the Mission's influence has been uneven in Papua, New Guinea, nevertheless, there is an unfortunate lack of information about how the mission affected these people's lives. One historian has made the following remark (Grossart, 1968:296).

> It is a striking fact that no one can move around the Territory of Papua New Guinea for long without being impressed by the near-universal significance of the Missions and the churches yet almost everyone who has written about the Territory has succeeded in doing so without much more than a passing recognition of their existence.

II.

Why has the mission found lasting success on Panaeati? Some indication of the congruence of the mission's ideals with Panaeati ideals was discussed earlier. It was noted that the mission's mololu concept was adjusted to fit Panaeati people's traditional giving and hosting concerns. Other Melanesian peoples were also able to adjust their values to mission ideals in the early years of mission contact. But not all Melanesian peoples found lasting satisfaction from missionization in the way Panaeati people have (cf. Guiart, 1970). There are other factors that must be considered in order to understand Panaeati's wholesale and lasting embrace of the Methodist Mission.

First, the missionaries themselves must be considered. The early missionaries in the Milne Bay area were an extraordinary group. They were usually prudent and patient (for missionaries) with the local populations. They respected the local people and learned local languages.

Perhaps most important, they were realistic about fulfilling their promises to the people.

Bromilow's activities on Dobu and his standard for work on other islands in Milne Bay were discussed earlier. Another realistic individual missionary in Milne Bay at the time was Charles Abel. Abel was a fringe member of the London Missionary Society. He established a station at Kwato Island, near Samarai Island, before the Methodists began their work on Dobu. In an historical article about his father, Cecil Abel notes that his father's primary concern was to develop other areas besides people's morals. Accordingly, Charles Abel established a vocational training program at Kwato.

> He (Charles Abel) said quite flatly that the Missions were responsible for robbing the Papuans of the only active profession they had known, that of fighting, and it was the Missions' responsibility, therefore, to put something else in its place. (Abel, 1968:275)

The Kwato vocational training center became as important as the Christian religious activities on Kwato. In fact, Charles Abel declined to call his station a mission. The Tube Tube and Wari pottery traders, noted above, have motorized launches because of their contact with the Kwato boat works that Abel developed. He stressed sound practical training in economic activities that could be immediately useful to the local people. He also taught rudimentary decision making processes through meetings. Coastal people living near Kwato had a realistic modernization training program before the British or (later) the Australian governments initiated their own programs.

Abel's work at Kwato was well-known by people far away from the Samarai area. Panaeati people wanted a missionary on Panaeati before

Reverend Bromilow landed in 1891. They knew of the London Missionary Society's station on Wari Island from their visits westward. Abel and Bromilow did not try to eliminate traditional feasting and dancing. While Bromilow's book is filled with self-serving racial slurs, he did not censor the local traditions when they were not immediately repugnant. However, it is also quite possible that Panaeati's own customary prohibitions against dancing saved the missionaries this censorship role. Other Melanesian societies were not so fortunate. Traditional celebrations involving dancing were sometimes severely censored by missionaries (Lawrence, 1964:56).

Early mission activities in Melanesia are criticized today by people inside as well as people outside the mission circle. Both types of critics contend that the mission failed to develop a realistic sense of self-respect that the Melanesians could employ to help them adjust to modernization.[46] Critics point to millennial movements in Melanesia as one important illustration of a failure to explain the world to Melanesians as westerners see it. Unrealistic and confused explanations were sometimes allowed to run their course and led to Christian-inspired millennial movements.

Today mission spokesmen realize that the goal facing them is to change a foreign mission into a local church. They want to incorporate the mission into contemporary Melanesian life. In order to do this successfully they realize that the mission should leave secular concerns

---

[46] Cf. Harnett (1968) for an example of an outside criticism of the mission and Williams (1970) for an inside comment on mission failing.

to the institutions that best deal with such matters (i.e., the Administration). The task of the localized church, on the other hand, should be to deal with the spiritual concerns of modern-day Melanesian Christians. This new localized church should achieve a re-ordering of the secular and the spiritual that fits the realistic needs of modernized Melanesia. One commentator has called this re-ordering, "the ultimate integration" of the spiritual and the secular (Williams, 1970:679). Williams summarizes the problems facing the mission today (1970:678).

> The new religion has come and been successful in identifying itself with the (traditional) culture so that today the Christian faith has become the 'religion' (i.e., interpreted as instrument to material reward) of the people. But here the suggestion is that it has failed to transform the culture (i.e., Christian attitudes towards secular and spiritual rewards) in the way of giving 'ultimate integration' to the new culture (i.e., modernization) of the people. We have become a church, but remain a mission. (Williams, 1970:679). (Parentheses are mine).
>
> (and)...To give just one example -- where do we see evidence of a Christian doctrine of work (1970:678)?

Williams does not allow for any transitional step that may be rewarding to the local people. However, not all syncretic blends of Christianity and traditional values are hollow and hold false material hopes. My feeling is that a situation like that described in these pages for Panaeati gives evidence of a Melanesian people's ability to form positive syncretism that is realistic and rewarding and one that

leads to the kind of self-respect mission critics state they want to foster. To demand a more "ultimate" integration than this is extremely selfish and unrealistic.

Panaeati people never engaged in serious cargo cult activity, even though Misimans have always encouraged such activity.[47] Panaeati people's successful, rewarding adjustment to Christianity can be, to a large extent, attributed to candid mission personnel. More fundamentally, however, it must also be attributed to Panaeati people's clear conception of their secular reward system and their understanding of how to make the most from changing circumstances. People who were industrious built canoes and gained the material rewards. On Panaeati, the path to secular rewards was never confused with spiritual means. Rewards were achievable in this world, through work. This clarity existed before and continued after the introduction of Christianity.

While headquartered on Panaeati, the mission extended its field to Misima and into the Calvados Chain. Panaeati traders followed and extended their trading field into these newly opened areas. Panaeati people pursued traditional economic ventures more actively than they could before missionization. The material benefits from gardening and especially from canoe trading are associated with the Methodist Mission's historical position as peace keeper in the Louisiades. Panaeati life now was richer than before.

---

[47]Misima people and some of the people in the Calvados Chain were involved in cult activity during World War II. One incident led to the murders of an Administration officer and his aides. The leaders were tried and hanged publicly in Bwagacia, Misima after the war. Movements still exist underground, however. While Panaeati people are curious, they are not active in these movements.

Panaeati people's critical rewards always were achievable in this world. In the mission period these rewards became even more achievable. According to Panaeati people (as discussed in Chapter II), the mission took away none of the positive features from their traditional life-style. The mission simply readjusted traditional Panaeati life into a more efficient and rewarding order. This new ordering was traditionally effective and it did not contradict Christian ideals.

Panaeati people's materialistic focus on canoe building was work that early missionaries could understand and abide. The incentives seemed to be clearly realistic. People made canoes and they sold them. In fact, unlike the Trobriand situation, Panaeati canoe building does not even involve magic. Canoe building and trading was perhaps the cushion that helped Panaeati people avoid the disappointing vacuum created by unkept mission promises and that kept them from cargo activity. Missionaries did not have to lure Panaeati people to Christianity with unrealistic promises (Guiart, 1970). According to Panaeati people, Christianity is an effective guide to a richer life in the mundane and material world. Panaeati people had no difficulty understanding the rationale for Christian ideals of good-will, generosity, and hard work. These ideals reinforced traditional Panaeati materialism. This materialism was never confused with Christian spiritualism.

Panaeati people never had a rich concern for an after-life. Compared to the Trobrianders, Panaeati people are extremely mundane about death.[48] Many times older people came to me and asked if there was

---

[48]Malinowski noted the Southern Massim people's lack of concern with after-life compared with Trobriand beliefs about after-life (1922:490).

anything convincing that I knew about life after death and heaven and hell that I could tell them. After over seventy years of Christian teaching, these people have real difficulty with a Christian kind of salvation.

While Christian conceptions of salvation are not taken too seriously on Panaeati, the people have digested a Christian view of original sin and man's humble place in a large world order. It was very common to hear people sermonize about man's humble position and his tendency to make errors in judgement. Man's fallibility and unreliability is natural according to Panaeati Christianity. This view fits their "face to face" economics quite well, as discussed in Chapter V. I noted how the ritual performed when a new canoe is launched reminds people that it is impossible to know when a person will be rewarded (in this world) for his past generosity. However, failures to receive rewards for giving should not deflate the cultural ideal of generosity and good will. Panaeati people feel that the rewards will come to a giver in the long run -- in this world -- in his mature years, on the one hand, and on the other hand, his children should also benefit from his labors after his death. No missionary could argue with this moral conception (cf. Young, 1971:260). This kind of Christianity has buttressed Panaeati hosting, as noted earlier.

Finally, another important ingredient in the lasting success of missions at Panaeati was the lack of a rival mission in this region for many years. The Methodists were the only mission in the area until the mid-1950's, when the Catholic mission began its operations in Milne Bay. In the Misima Sub-district, the Catholic Mission is located

on Nimoa Island, just off the western tip of Sudest Island. The Catholics and the Methodists operate together on Sudest and on Rossel Island without rivalry. One writer comments that Methodists have always been tolerant towards other mission groups (Williams, 1970:670). He mentions the formation of the present United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands in 1968 as an illustration of this openness. So far, there seems to be no animosity by Panaeati people toward Catholics. The Louisiade Local Council was deciding whether or not to open Misima Island to the Catholics in 1970. It may be true that these people are tolerant enough to deal with another mission.

Shipping problems and the lack of rich cash opportunities have kept Milne Bay peoples on the fringe of Papua New Guinea's major modernization programs. Panaeati Islanders have seen remarkably slow-paced development since World War II. While Misima and Sudest once hosted hundreds of European gold miners, Panaeati people have been host only to European missionaries and to two American coastwatchers during the war. There has been no external source of cash that has drawn Panaeati's young men away from their homes for an extended period. While young men work on plantations, they do not wish to leave Panaeati for Samarai or Port Moresby. They are extremely ambivalent about surrendering totally to a cash-based subsistence.

Panaeati people's syncretic brand of Christianity is still extremely appropriate for their actual present-day material life. They are more realistic, perhaps, about their future than the mission and the Administration. Their sense of self-respect is high, and their social life is active. Unless the trend towards insular community responsi-

bilities overrides canoe trading activities, this vitality should last. Self-respect and an active social life are critical ingredients for a people's wholesome transition to a new era of self-government.

Appendix I

Contemporary Panaeati Political Trade in Valuables and Pigs

Bagi

Panaeati people prefer bagi that comes from the eastern end of the Louisiade Archipelago. This is bagi associated with Rossel Island. It is made at Rossel and also at Grass Island, west of Sudest Island. This rich bagi is called bag lova, "Rossel bagi." Trade rates for Grass Island bagi are given in a later appendix. The Grass Island bagi information is more complete than the Rossel information.

Rossel Islanders make other red shell disc necklaces that are used mostly by Rossel people and are not found on Panaeati. One of these necklaces is called piledi and is sold usually for $2.00. Another necklace is called pobekeni and is larger than a piledi. This necklace is sold for $4.00 - $6.00.

One Rossel Island bagi maker told me that he can make a long bagi in one month working almost daily. A pobekeni can be made in one week while a piledi can be completed in two or three days. Bagi makers buy their shells from divers for about $.10 for 5-10 shells. These shells are found at great depth and are difficult to find.

Bagi from other places in Milne Bay are used for additional payments by Panaeati people. Thus, sonava from Murua, bolevagela from Suau and the Engineer Group are not in high demand on Panaeati. These other bagi types are desired by Sudest and Rossel area people, however.

The following table lists the prices and the sizes for Rossel Island bagi given by a Rossel bagi maker.

Bagi Size	Misima Language Name		Cash
Finger tips to opposite shoulder	iyapu	"long"	$25.00
Finger tips to middle chest	luwaluwala	"middle"	10.00
Finger tips to same shoulder	kaubwa	"short"	

Giam

Giam "axeblades" are actively demanded on Panaeati today. They are said to be more common on Sudest and the eastern islands of the Calvados Chain than they are on Panaeati and Misima. This is because of the more numerous traditional pig transactions in this area. A full explanation of the sizes and the names for giam is given in the appendix dealing with Grass Island, Sudest, and Nimoa trading.

A fine giam is a "long one," iyapu, measuring from a man's finger tips to his elbow joint. The thinner the blade the better. A good blade is smooth and has many tan streaks (koikoi)running through it. A blade that stretches from the finger tips to the forearm is called luwaluwala, "middle size." One that is only the length of the finger tips to above the wrist is called kaubwa, "small." In the Grass Island Appendix other names are given for these varieties.

My Panaeati informants did not give me Misiman names other than size references even though I became fluent in Misiman. They are used to working with three sizes. They acknowledge the professionalism of the Sudest people and the Grass Island people with respect to giam and pigs.

They realize that on Panaeati, canoe building requirements have shifted their manner of dealing with valuables.

There is more direct exchange of pigs, valuables, and cash coming to Panaeati than is the case for other non-canoe makers. The fine points of breaking giam down to smaller units is practiced more on the eastern end of the archipelago than it is on Panaeati. This is especially true today.

Breaking down giam into base units is necessary for certain large presentation situations. When a man has to borrow many items from a lot of contributors it is often difficult to pay his debtors in the best manner. The best way is to repay them "one for one" (lopatal). Here concern is for the equality of the match. We noted this for pigs in the memorial occasion. Exchanging one for one is the rule, ideally, when dealing with all political items (i.e., bagi, pigs, giam, and gabulita). When this cannot be done, the smallest giam is used as a denominator in the following manner. The largest giam to be exchanged for 5 small giam. The middle giam (i.e., from finger tips to middle forearm) is worht about 2 giam.

When this manner of breaking valuables down to a denominator is operating in exchange transactions, it is referred to as leau. This manner of exchange is what the Louisiade people feel separates them from other islands in Milne Bay who exchange goods in a clearer one for one manner.

In the eastern end of Milne Bay, the only island that takes part in an

exchange of items in the leau denominator manner is Wari Island. Panaeati people used to sell canoes to Wari Islanders. Islands in the Engineer Group area (i.e., Anagusa, Tube Tube, and Kalaiwa) are not familiar with dealing with valuables in the same way. Wari is the transition point from leau to other trading rules. The kula trade that incorporates mwali and special bagi is a way of trading that Panaeati people do not understand well enough to take part in.

Canoe presentations are similar to special memorial presentations. In both cases contributors come and set their contributions down. The main buyer (for a canoe) and presentor (for a death obligation) has to repay his creditors for their help. He can do this by multiples based on the small giam.

When the presentations for a canoe or for a memorial obligation are set out the presentor counts his articles. Each article is counted as one unit regardless of its independent value. The total number of articles (i.e., bagi, giam, gabulita, and cash pieces) are counted together. Pigs are counted separately for presentation situations.

The following table shows the probable equivalents (or prices) for pigs, bagi, and giam. This information is from a Panaeati informant.

Pig Size	Description	Bagi	Giam
Sala or bobotana	Huge with tusks	1 "middle", plus 4 or 5 "long"	giam
Waubu	Medium without tusks	1 "middle"	--[49]

[49] -- means not appropriate.

Pig Size	Description	Bagi	Giam
Waubu sakesake	Medium with slight tusks	--	1 "long" or 2-3 "medium"
Bobu howahowa	Small	--	1 "short"

Appendix II

Mission Period Panaeati Political Trade in Pigs and Valuables

In this appendix, two new names for Rossel Island bagi appear. They were given to me from older Panaeati informants. Awana and waimu leau refer to bagi from Rossel that is less valuable than a bagi lova. Here my informants did not give me the length of the bagi. I believe awana and waimu leau are middle-sized bagi and bagi lova in the following table are assumed to be long-sized.

This is a complicated listing. I asked informants what possible combinations would be acceptable for the different pig sizes listed below.

Pig Size	Description	Acceptable Equivalent
Bobotana or Sala	Huge with full tusks	1 bag lova with or without a name; or 1 awana + 1-3 "short" giam; or 1 waimu leau + 1-3 "short" giam; or 1 bolevagela (i.e., Suau area bagi) + 3-4 "short" giam; or 1 "long" giam (i.e., very long); or 1 "middle" giam + 1 "short" giam; or 1 pakai (large gabulita) + 4 "short" giam; or 1 ialuialu + 4 "short" giam.
Hok	Huge without full tusks	1 bag lova with or without name; or 1 awana; or 1 waimu leau; or 1 bolevagela + 2 "short" giam; or 1 very "long" giam; or 1 "middle" giam + 1 "short" giam; 1 pakai; 1 alialiyoho (small gabulita) + 4 "short" giam; 1 dona kama (belt) + 2 giam.

Pig Size	Description	Acceptable Equivalent
Bobu Wauba	Medium without tusks	1 waimu leau; or 1 bolevagela + 1 "short" giam; or 2-3 "middle" giam; 2 alialiyoho (small gabulita) or 1 dona kama.
Bobu howahowa	Small size	1 "short" giam.

Appendix III

Contemporary Panaeati "Utility" Trade with Misima

Sago

Panaeati people today obtain sago from Misima, oftentimes without giving the Misimans anything. This kind of arrangement is called mololu or "gift." Pots are the appropriate item exchanged for sago. An entire tree of sago is called puna. A block of sago weighs about 3 pounds. Four blocks tied together are called a walahipan. There are usually about 15 walahipan to a puna. It is common that a puna of sago brings 2-5 Panaeati pots. A complete list of pot sizes is given in Appendix VII.

When the Panaeati visitors process their own sago, there is usually no exchange.

Smoked Shell Fish

Misima people love fish. They especially like fish during the hoalu months before the coming year's yam harvest. The most common item exchanged for shell fish is sago. A puna of sago is given for 2-5 Panaeati pots filled with smoked shell fish. Sometimes the fish is presented without pots today.

Betel Ingredients

This is a hospitality item that Misimans almost always give free. Misimans know that small island people want betel. They often tell the people simply to go and take the betel before they leave Misima. It is embarrassing for a Misiman canoe to land on Panaeati without bringing betel. The same is true when Panaeati visitors land at Misima without

bringing pots. Pots nor betel are not tallied as "debts" (vaga).

Yams and Mixed Foods

Misima does offer yams to Panaeati relatives, in-laws, and friends. This is an irregular trade pattern. Panaeati usually has enough yams for its people. For special hosting occasions, it is possible that a Panaeati canee will go to Misima for yams. Sometimes $2.00 is given for a basket of Misiman yams. Misimans also accept a pig of any size for 5-10 baskets of yams. With a pig/yam arrangement, the Misimans add another basket of "mixed food" (i.e., taro, maniot, bananas, pumpkin, and betel) called kikinina. Then it is appropriate for a Panaeati pot to be given for the mixed food basket.

Cash is never given for mixed food.

It is common to give one pot and/or shell fish for one mixed food basket. And the trade is five pots at a time.

Wooden Dishes

These dishes are called mwaha. They are becoming harder to find on Misima. They are associated only with Misima Island and are famous throughout the Massim (i.e., Milne Bay).

It is common for these dishes to be exchanged for a pig or for cash today. Regardless of the size of the pig, Misimans will give one mwaha. They are not consistent about the size of the dish given for a pig.

The prices and dish types are listed below:

Number of Mats	Traded Item	Remarks
10-20 mats	1 small pig	It cannot be assumed that 20 pots will bring one pig.
5 mats	5 pots	
5 mats	5 pots of shell fish	

Appendix IV

Panaeati Mission Period Utility Trade

Panaeati Pots

"Pots" (ulun) were made in the past by most women and young girls. The following is a list of the pot types that were made. They are still made today on Panaeati but on a limited scale. Some of the types have been replaced by trade store plates. Japanese bottles also are used today for hauling water instead of pots.

Pot Name	Use
bwana	for cooking sago and oil (moni) with a design
sabaia	for cooking sago and oil (moni) without a design
ligaliga	for cooking for labor sessions
ulun anan ana abaliga	for daily household cooking
ulun moti	for cooking fish
ulun gulekekei	an eating plate
ulun develega	for cooking sago pancakes
ulun ulutwal	for hauling water

Sago

The usual exchange for sago was Panaeati pots. It was common for 5 walahipan (60 pounds) of sago to be exchanged for 1 "cooking" pot or for 1 "fish" pot. A huge amount of sago was sometimes borrowed for a future return of a small pig. This was a debt (vaga).

Betel Ingredients

When there was an exchange for betel, pots were the most appropriate item.

A folded coconut that is plated is made into a "package" (libin). Ten libin filled with betelnut were exchanged for 2 cooking pots. Pepper fruits and leaves are packaged into a smaller "bundle" (os). Ten os were commonly exchanged for 1 fish (moti).

Yams and Mixed Food (taro, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, bananas, and betel nut and pepper)

For 2 large baskets of yams the following exchange pattern was common. The yams were piled to a cone. A top yam (pwatana) was paid for with a small green-stone axeblade (giam). When a Misima party who gave the yams later visited Panaeati, they received a small pig. The pig was the payment for the remaining yams.

A small basket of mixed foods (kikinina) was commonly exchanged for 1 ulun gulukekei or 1 ulun develega.

When a bunch of bananas was obtained, pots were given. Five bunches (haka) of bananas were often exchanged for 2 ulun ligaliga plus 1 ulun develega; for 1 ulun moti plus one ulun ligaliga.

Wooden Dishes

"Wooden dishes" (mwaha) in the mission period were exchanged in the following manner. The largest wooden dish was used for scraping sago. This was a wagabo. It was common for one of these dishes to be exchanged for a small pig; or for 1 ulun develega; or one small axeblade (giam); or 1 ulun ulubwal; or 1 dog.

The different sizes of dishes are listed in the contemporary trading appendix. In the mission period, the same exchange rate applied to all the dish types. As noted earlier, the dishes are less common and the demand is high.

Appendix V

Contemporary Misiman Political Trade in Pigs and Valuables

The following information was obtained from a Misiman informant at Narian Village on the south side of Misima Island.

Pig Size	Description	Bagi	Giam
Sala	Huge with full tusks	1 "middle" plus 5 "long"	
Hok	Huge with incomplete tusks	1 "middle" plus 5 "long"	
Waubu	Medium size without tusks	1 "middle" plus 1 "long"	
	or	--	2 or 3 "long"
Bobu howahowa	Small	--	1 "short"

Appendix VI

Contemporary Political and Utility Trade for Grass Island, Nimoa, and Sudest

Sudest Island people are interested in obtaining pots. The easiest way for them to do this is to obtain Panaeati or, more commonly, Brooker pots from Grass Island. Grass Island people are active sailors. They have intermarried with Sudest people. Grass Islanders also carry on active trading with close neighbors in the Calvados Chain, such as Nimoa Island. Grass Island people are the middlemen for the eastern end of the Louisiade Archipelago.

The pottery trade between Grass Island, Sudest, and Nimoa Islands is listed below.

Pot	Number	Exchanged Goods at Sudest	Exchanged Goods at Nimoa
bwana	1	middle sized pig	5 walahipan (60 pounds) sago; or 1 basket of yams
ligaliga (large)	1	small pig	4 walahipan (48 pounds) sago; or 1 small basket of yams
ligaliga (small)	1	5 walahipan sago; or 1 libin package of betel; or 1 basket of yams	2 walahipan (24 pounds) sago; or 1 small basket of yams

Axeblades and Leau Exchanging

It was noted earlier that Sudest and Eastern Calvados Chain people are proficient traders in pigs and valuables. In order to facilitate this

trading involving different items (i.e., pigs for axeblades, for example), a common denominator is used. Grass Island people and Sudest people say that it is also too difficult to always match a person's axeblade with an equally fine one. Thus, multiples of 5 small axeblades are used as a denominator for a good deal of exchanging. This manner of exchanging is called leau. The best giam is said to have a value of "five" of the smallest giam. The importance of counting in fives has been noted for Panaeati people too. It is interesting that I did not receive such clear and detailed information about exchanging axeblades (giam) at Panaeati as I did when I visited the eastern islands.

The following is a list of the four most commonly circulated sizes of axeblades. The list includes the Misiman, Sudest, and Nimoan language names for the sizes plus the value of the sizes.

Giam Size	Nimoan	Sudest	Misiman	Value
A. small - from finger tips to above the wrist	lihivaku	natuia	lihivaku	1
B. small - from finger tips to above the wrist	kavisal	kavisal	kavisal	1
C. medium - upper forearm to finger tips	kasawai-waileta	kasawai-waileta	kasawai-waileta	1
D. large - elbow joint to finger tips	esagu	laguia	esagu	5 of A. or B.

There is a very small giam that is not circulated. It is kept in a safe

place. It is used to magically "call" other valuables to join it. It is called tankai (Nimoan), gosaida natuia (Sudest), and kekesisi (Misiman).

Grass Island Bagi

The craftsmen on Grass Island explained that they charge $2.00 for every 100 shell discs they string. Bagi necklaces are made of two strings of shells joined together. The craftsmen who sell bagi value each string separately when they figure the necklace's price. Thus, a $24.00 necklace is made of two $12.00 strings. Panaeati people look at bagi necklaces somewhat differently from people in the eastern part of the Sub-district. The big shell piece that hangs from all bagi is called the head kaun end at Panaeati. This end is called the legs (aina) of the bagi by the eastern people. Panaeati and the eastern people are aware of this different scheme.

I was given a more complete listing of sizes on Grass Island than I received on Rossel. The Grass Island people measure their bagi just like the Rossel bagi makers do. The Grass bagi makers also add another numbered reference to name the different sizes. The sizes, and the equivalent prices in cash and giam axeblades are listed below.

Bagi Size	Cash	Giam
Finger tip to opposite arm's finger tip. Called "2"	$40.00	8 esagu or 40 units
Finger tip to opposite arm's elbow joint. Called "1 1/2"	24.00	6 esagu or 30 units

Bagi Size	Cash	Giam
Finger tip to opposite arm's shoulder. Called "1"	$12.00	4 esagu or 20 units
Finger tip to chest. Called "1/2"	8.00	2 esagu or 10 units

Wooden Dishes

Misiman dishes (mwaha) also are passed to Sudest by Grass Island people. It is common for 1 mwaha to be given for 1 middle to large sized pig.

Pigs

Sudest and Grass Island carry on an active trade involving pigs, cash, and valuables. Unlike Panaeati people, these islanders raise pigs and kill them for only special memorial occasions. Panaeati people need pigs to finance their canoe building. The rich sago resources of the larger islands make it possible for these people to sustain a larger pig population. Panaeati cannot afford to feed a large pig population. Without sago, it would also be difficult for Sudest, Grass, and Misima to keep a large pig population.

The following is a table of prices (i.e., equivalents) obtained at Grass Island. Unless a canoe is involved, these prices should apply to Panaeati people also.

Pig Size	Bagi	Giam	Cash
Sok - huge with tusks	1 "1"	4 esagu	$20.00
Tokesdi - medium size beginning tusks	1 "1"	4 esagu	10.00
Baweliweli - medium size no tusks	--	3 esagu	4.00

Pig Size	Bagi	Giam	Cash
NatuNatu - small size	--	1 esagu	$ 4.00
Toan - Female fertile	1 "1"	4 esagu	10.00-12.00
Amama - Fat female, barren	1 "1" (if large) usually none	1-2 esagu	10.00
Pediedie	--	1-2 esagu	--

The following prices (or equivalents) were obtained on Sudest Island.

Pig Size	Bagi	Giam	Cash
Laguia sok - large with tusks	1 "1" or	1 esagu or 2 kasawaiwaileta	$20.00
Laguia - large without tusks	or 1 "1/2" plus 1 "1/2" or	1 kasawaiwaileta 1 esagu	or 10.00
Natuia - small without tusks	--	2-3 lihivaku	or $2.00-$4.00
Natuia modo - very small	--	2 lihivaku	or $2.00

Appendix VII

Contemporary Brooker Island Trade

Brooker Islanders are active pottery traders. As noted earlier, they trade with Misima, the Calvados Chain, and with Sudest. Pottery making is undertaken by almost all of the young girls and the married women on Brooker. They pool their pots and send them off. The women write their names on their pots and receive appropriate return when the canoe returns to Brooker. Brooker people want food and betel from people living on the richer islands in the area.

Brooker people also actively trade with their close neighbors, Motorina and Bagaman Islands. The Brooker people complained to me that sometimes they are taken advantage of. Because of the intermarriage with Motorina and Bagaman, Brooker pots are often given as mololu gifts. They feel that they should be given more in exchange for their pots. For 5 pots of any size, Motorina and Bagaman people either give only 5 sticks of tobacco or $1.00.

Brooker people gave the following prices in cash that they like to receive. These prices are appropriate for trading with Misimans who live and work in Bwagaoia as Government employees. The types of pots and the cash prices are listed below. Please refer to the Panaeati list for the uses of the pots.

Pot Type	Cash Price
bwana 1	$4.00
sabaia 1	$2.00

Pot Type	Cash Price
ligaliga 1	$1.00 - $2.00
anan ana aba ligaliga	$ .75 - $1.00
sial (or moni)	$ .50
gulukekei	$ .30

The following is a list of the prices given for Brooker pots at Misima. Here food, betel, sago, and mwaha (i.e., dishes) are included.

Pot Type	Number	Usual Exchange
lubwal (small)	10	1 mwaha
lubwal (large)	10	50 baskets of yams
ligaliga	10	20 baskets of yams, or 2 sago trees (puna); or 20 baskets of mixed food (kikinina)
ligaliga	1	Usually 1 basket of yams topped with 3 small bunches of betel and pepper.

Brooker people (like Panaeati informants) told me that Misimans tell visitors to cut sago today. They cut 1 tree (puna) and process it themselves. This is the usual pattern regardless of how many pots visitors bring to Misima. Sago trade with the Calvados Chain and Sudest Islanders is more formal. These people almost all of the time make the sago for visitors.

Brooker people like to go to Grass Island or Sudest for sago. Grass Islanders grow sago on nearby Pana Tinani. This is a large island that has abundant sago. It ranks with Misima, Sudest, and Motorina as the

major sago places in the Louisiade Archipelago. The following is a list of the sago prices for Brooker pots when dealing with Grass Island in the Calvados Chain obtained from Brooker informants.

Pot Type	Number	Sago "Bundles" (walahipan or 12 pounds)
bwana	1	5
sabaia	1	5
ligaliga	1	4
anan ana aba ligaliga	1	3
sial	1	2
gulukekekei	1	1
lubwal	1	3

Appendix VIII

Panaeati Island and Pana Pom Pom Canoe Census

Panaeati Canoes

Canoe's Name	Terms
1. Limiuia	built by owner
2. Loloiowan	built by owner
3. Tamana	builder to WiFa (bridewealth) then to SiSo
4. Momosena	MuliMuli from BiBr to WiHu (i.e., bride-wealth return)
5. Miteli	Bridewealth to WiMoBr
6. Boniai	built by owner
7. Kaukava	built by owner
8. Inuluwan	Contracted to Boio, Misima Island
9. Bahinuwatu	builder to SiSo to WiFa as bridewealth
10. Tul	builder to FaSiSo as cross-cousin holhol presentation
11. unnamed	builder will contract to Narian, Misima Island
12. Gauna	builder to WiFa as bridewealth to SiSo to Liak, Misima as a contract
13. Hoguguma	builder at Pana Pom Pom to Eiaus, Misima as bridewealth then to Panaeati as bridewealth then contracted to Madauwa, Sudest Island
14. Abanuwanak	builder to WiFa as bridewealth

Canoe's Name	Terms
15. Matapwal	builder to WiBr as bridewealth
16. Manak	builder will give to WiMoBr as bridewealth
17. Abalolomwa	builder to WiBr as bridewealth
18. Nonowana	built by people for mission use
19. Iyatena	built (i.e., financed by) Panaeati man working at Misima for his SiSo to give as bridewealth to his wife's family
20. Gamagal Nanakina	builder to MoBrSo as cross-cousin holhol presentation
21. Pamela	builder to his father's family as lohu presentation
22. Hauna Molana	builder will contract Bwagabwaga, Misima Island
23. Bugul Bwagabwaga	builder presented it to his Br on Panaeati
24. Isuteti	builder to WiBr as bridewealth then to this party's WiBr as bridewealth
25. Nam e	builder to WiBr as bridewealth then to this party's WiBr as bridewealth
26. Oi	Pana Pom Pom builder to WiBr as bride-wealth
27. Takite	built by present owner
28. Molau Upem	built by present owner
29. Elonak	builder presented it to his Br

Pana Pom Pom Canoes

Canoe's Name	Terms
1. Melu Melu	builder at Panaeati to his WiSiHu at Panaeati as bridewealth then to this party's Br at Pana Pom Pom
2. Iaboma (small dinghy with a sail and a jib)	built by owner from an old dinghy
3. Ga Una Nek	builder to his WiBr as bridewealth
4. Ialeba	builder to WiFa as bridewealth then to this party's SiSo at Pana Pom Pom

Appendix IX

Brooker Island Canoe Census

Canoe's Name	Exchange Route	Terms
1. Neitiv	from Panaeati	bridewealth
2. Eswan	from Panaeati completed construction at Brooker	given as memorial obligation
3. Giola	built at Brooker	bridewealth given incomplete and finished at Brooker
4. Logasisi	from Panaeati completed construction at Brooker	given as memorial lohu completed construction at Brooker
5. Mumuga	from Panaeati	bridewealth
6. Iapeil	from one Panaeati person to another Panaeati person, then to Brooker	lineage mate gift
7. Loom	from Panaeati person to his brother on Panaeati to Brooker	memorial obligation lohu
8. Nige Lagona	built at Brooker from wood found at Pana Widiwidi	builder is present owner
9. Lus	built at Brooker from wood cut at Motorina	from clan brother
10. Walemata	from Panaeati given to Panaeati person, then to Brooker	bridewealth
11. Etutuhi	from Panaeati given incomplete then completed at Brooker	bridewealth
12. Un-cutter	built at Brooker from a wrecked ship and some wood from Motorina and Panaeati	
13. Guwawana-cutter	from wood from a wrecked ship	

Canoe's Name	Exchange Route	Terms
14. Kunaga	from Bagaman Island	contract
15. Badi-whaleboat	found on an island	

Appendix X

Calvados Chain Canoe Census

Place	Canoe's Name	Exchange Route	Terms
Motorina Island	1. Nabubula	from Panaeati	contract
Motorina Island	2. Itowaga	from Panaeati	contract
Motorina Island	3. Waisi	from Panaeati	contract
Motorina Island	4. Ulabeiau	from Panaeati	contract
Motorina Island	5. Key	from Panaeati	contract
Motorina Island	6. Hauna Loiana	from Panaeati to a Brooker man, and then to another Brooker man, to Motorina	contract and return of a memorial obligation
Motorina Island	7. Nige Anabala	from Panaeati	contract
Motorina Island	8. Armi	from Panaeati	to clan mate
Motorina Island	9. Tumbala	from Panaeati	contract
Motorina Island	10. Nuwam Aude	?	contract
Nimoa Island	11. Tutu Ma Loia	from Panaeati	contract
Grass Island	12. Samarai	from Panaeati	contract
Grass Island	13. Lowa	from Brooker	contract
Grass Island	14. Sinaboina	from Panaeati	contract
Grass Island	15. Abanosala	from Bagaman Island	cross-cousin
Kuwanak Island	16. (three canoes)	no data	no data
Pana Mala	17. (three canoes)	no data	no data
Joenette Island	18. no data		
Nigaho Island	19. no data		
Hosesai Island	20. no data		
Bagaman Island	21. no data		

Appendix XI

Sudest Island Canoe Census

The following is a list of the canoes on Sudest Island. When possible, I give the exchange history or route of the canoe.

Village	Canoe's Name	Exchange Route
Western Point	Wari	from Panaeati
Western Point	Sibona	from Panaeati to Pana Pom Pom first
Western Point	Singal	from Panaeati to Ebora, Misima first
Western Point	Gamaun	from Panaeati
Embabalia	Aba	from Panaeati to Grass I. first
Embabalia	Self	built at Joenette (i.e., Pana Tinani)
Griffen Point	Ekòlia	built at Pana Wina Island
Griffen Point	Treding	built at Western Point
Griffen Point	Uv	from Panaeati to Bagaman I. first
Griffen Point	Maoli	from Brooker to Nigaho Island first
Griffen Point	Kuta	from Panaeati
Griffen Point	Nidal	from Panaeati
Jolandan	Teu Brooker	from Panaeati
Jolandan	?	?
Rambuso	no canoes	
Wimba	no canoes	
Jelewaga	Piur Man	from Panaeati
Jelewaga	?	?

Village	Canoe's Name	Exchange Route
Madauwa	Sinebwaina	from Panaeati
Madauwa	?	from Pamela, Sudest first
Madauwa	?	?
Pamela	no canoes	
Pamela	no canoes	
Bomuma	Buhuwek	from Panaeati
Rewa	Wairles	from Panaeati
Rewa	Amunsaiwa	from Panaeati
Rewa	?	from Panaeati
Eastern Point	Wamaiyowaga	built at Saisai Island, to Pana Bali, then to Sudest

Pieron and Ien are two small islands quite close to Sudest Island.

Pieron Island	Iyalas	built at Eastern Point
Pieron Island	Iya Natu	from Panaeati
Pieron Island	Nogegel	from Panaeati to Bageman Island to Embabalia to Western Point to Pieron Island
Ien Island	Laugogola	from Panaeati
Ien Island	Nige Bateli	from Panaeati